Riots—1917

East St. Louis

RIOTOUS SAILORS DISCHARGED WITHOUT HONOR? NO

Dallas Express 7/7/17

MOB OF TWO HUNDRED IN FULL UNIFORM OF UNCLE SAM BOMBARD POLICE STATION IN EFFORT TO RESCUE COMRADE UNDER ARREST.

From the Philidelphia Tribune.

Philadelphia, Pa., June 30.—On last Monday evening, the neighborhood of 4th and Snyder avenue was started by the sounds of pistols, curses and a general uproar that made the alarmed citizens think that the war was at their gates. It was however only one of the little diversions that Uncle Sam's boys in blue insist on staging too frequently for the good of the discipline, and morale of the army and navy. On Sunday a sailor in company with a young woman, had been arrested for disorderly conduct and locked up at the police station at the corner of 4th and Snyder avenue. The brave defenders of the flag could not stand for this insult to the uniform, so they determined to rescure the uniform they love so well from the hands of the police, for whom they seemed to have little love and also to defy the law which they seem to disrespect it was a roaring furnace.

Mob Burns Famous Valley.

The mob next turned its attention to the Old Valley, which until the recent clean-up had been the home of numerous resorts. Since its inmates moved away, the district has been occupied by Negro women. Virtually the entire district was in flames by 10 o'clock last night. The valley covers about a block and a half from north to south and two blocks from east to west. Originally, its houses were the homes of wealthy pioneer East St. Louisians.

About 10:30 o'clock the police received word fire had started at Thirteeth street and Gross avenue in a Negro settlement in the northern part of the city, about, a mile and a half from the scene of the other fires. Mobs were reported exchanging shots with Negro occupants of the houses.

The total property damage was estimated at about $700,000. Insurance men said the city would be compelled to pay claims for damages on the ground fire insurance policies disclaim liability for acts of mob violence.

About 200 Negroes Wounded.

St. Mary's and Deaconess Hospital in East St. Louis were filled with wounded Negroes and emergency hospitals were opened in the city Hall and various buildings. East St. Louis officials believe more than 200 Negroes were wounded, mostly beaten. A score were reported suffering from gunshot wounds.

Guests at the Illmo Hotel, several blocks from the scene of the fires, were in a panic and began removing their valuables from their rooms earlier in the evening.

The first fatality of the day was the death of Williams Keyser, furniture dealer, 409 Collinsville avenue. He was standing in the door of his store in the morning when a bullet struck him in the right lung. He died two hours later.

All Saloons Closed.

All saloons were closed at 2 o'clock in the afternoon for and indefinite period. Later in the day it was announced all billiard halls would be closed at once.

Street car service was discontinued at 7 p. m. and by order of Col Tipp all business houses closed at 6 o'clock.

Fourteen companies of the Illinois National guard have been detailed for duty in East St. Louis The companies come from Olney Paris, Effiingham, Shelbyville, Vandalia, Newton, Carbondale, Benton Kankakee, Pontiac, Sullivan and from two other towns, not yet announced.

Company H of Shelbyville was the first to reach the city and by 9:30 a. m. they were patrolling Collinsville avenue. Other outfits arrived at intervals and by this morning all will be on hand. Most of the militiamen will be quartered in the city Hall and for transportation a number of big automobile trucks are parked near the City Hall and some of them are large enough to carry forty soldiers.

From morning until night mobs made up largely of idle men and half grown boys ran after Negroes that appeared on the street. As soon as a Negro was sighted there would be a chorus of "Go get him!" and, if the man was caught, he was badly beaten with clubs and in several cases shot.

Of the Negroes beaten, seventeen are in St. Mary's Hospital and six are in the Deaconess' Hospital. The total in the hospitals represents only a small percentage of those who were roughly handled, because most of them, after being beaten, escaped from the mob.

During the morning and early afternoon mobs stopped all street cars and searched for Negroes. Some of this searching of cars was done by boys carrying revolvers in their hands, and in very few cases did the conductors object to the process. When a Negro was found he was hustled off the car and beaten.

Photographer Threatened.

Three photograhers for St. Louis papers tried to get pictures of street scenes. Maurice Ahearn, secretary to Mayor Mollman and also secretary of the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners, interfered with one of the photographers and told him he didn't want any pictures taken.

The photographer says that Ahearn ordered him to leave the city, with arrest as the alternative. Ahearn denies that he threatened arrest.

The lens from his photograher's camera was stolen and from another photographer the whole camera was taken.

During the afternoon thirty Negroes were found hiding in a cellar near the stockyards. A big auto truck owned by Armour & Co. was commanded by the soldiers and the Negroes were taken to St. Louis under guard of militiamen.

Very few of the Negroes employed downtown took chances on working yesterday and the exodus to St. Louis included several hundred who sought shelter over the river.

In the basement of the Police Station many Negro women with small children have been given refuge. A feature of the rioting was that many women took part This was particularly true along St. Clair avenue, where each party of the rioters was followed by women and girls who cheered the rioters on.

In the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad yards a Negro woman leading a small child by the had was attacked by white women, who were following a mob. The Negro woman seized the child in her arms and ran into a small house, which the white women bombarded with rocks and chunks of coal.

Several Negroes were found lying dead near St. Henry's Catholic Church.

The flames and smoke could be seen from many points in St. Louis and a rush of sightseers began toward Eads and Free bridges shortly before dark. The St. Louis police sent details to guard the bridges and prevent the trouble from spreading to St. Louis levee.

The City Hall was turned into a refuge camp for Negro men and women weeping with terror, had been brought in by soldiers. Many of the women weepin with terror, had babies in their arms. More than a hundred of them were placed in the Council chamber.

Men Herded in Basement.

The men were herded into the basement, and as time passed became almost as thickly packed as sardines. Soldiers kept guard on the outside.

The jail was early filled with white men arrested by soldiers, and Col. S. A. Tipp gave orders none should be released until the military authorities had given consent.

At 8 o'clock, the nearest fire to the business district broke out at Fourth street and Division avenue, half a block from the Illma Hotel. The fire department was so busy in other places that it was gaining considerable headway.

Eads Bridge was jammed with sightseers from St. Louis and by Negroes fleeing across the river, some with packs on their backs. One Negro had taken pains to save his dog. Persons crossing from the side were not questioned or searched at the other side of the bridge by policemen or soldiers.

Mobs Rule Entire City.

All day yesterday crowds of people filled town could be equally captured. the mob, which one of the older, law-abiding citizens termed "an awful tough crowd," were the members of the Illinois National Guard, now in the federal service, who were hurried to the scene within a few hours after the riot started Sunday night.

The largest crowd seemed to be at the intersection of Broadway and Collinsville avenue. At this point cars entering East St. Louis branch off in three directions, and many of the cars which only run on local lines start from this corner.

The corner was somewhat of a stragetic point for the mob. Any Negroes trying to escape to St. Louis on the bridge cars could be apprehended and taken from the cars, and any entering the mob-filled town could equally captured.

Negroes Beaten on Sight.

Frequent assaults occurred at the crossing, despite the presence of several squards of soldiers, who patrolled the streets with bayonets fixed and rifles loaded. One Negro got off an incoming car and was immediately chased by the mob. He fell and blows and kicks were rained upon him until the guardsmen rescued him and took him off to Police Headquarters.

Scarcely ten minuets later another Negro, a man about 60 years old, got off the car, looked around in wonderment at the crowd assembled and strolled leisurely down Broadway. For a whole block no one molested him. Finally, one big, powerfully built man went after him declaring the old fellow probably didn't know about the trouble and should be told.

Some are Unmolested.

The white man approached the old Negro and talked with him for a few minutes while a small crowd began to form near by. In a minute the Negro had disappeared.

About two blocks east on Broadway several Negroes could be seen standing in front of their places of business, apparently without fear of the mob. No one paid any attention to them. No individual would go down there, and the mob did not care to trouble itself with the two-block walk. It was sudden, quick scampers here and there that attracted the crowd.

Around the corner from Broadway, block to the south, on Fourth street, and a block east of Collinsville avenue, is a Negro barber shop. At the time of the rioting in May this place was occupied as a Negro saloon. At that time it was stormed by the mob and the Negro saloon keeper forced out.

When the trouble quieted down after the May riots, the place was opened again, but as a barber shop, operated by Negroes. About 3:45 p. m. yesterday the crowd discovered a Negro at an upstairs window.

Bricks Begin to Fly.

Several hundred men and women swarmed around the place and in a short while bricks and other missles were flying through the air at the windows.

The big plate glass of the store was broken, the interior was badly damaged, and the bricks passed through upper story windows. Not a pane of glass was left.

Sergeant Jack Healey with two patrolmen appeared on the scene. Healey stopped the brick throwing and was getting the mob to disperse, partly through fear of gun play and very slightly through respect for him as an officer of the law. There were a shout and several shots were heard. Healey's attempt at dispersing the mob was not entirely successful, for the crowd ran in a new direction.

There were frenzied women in the crowd, and they were among the first to start brick throwing. They followed with the men to every new gathering which seemed to offer a victim.

Rioting at Car Barns.

One man in the crowd displayed The fact that the uniform covered a loafer, made no difference. Two hundred of these brave defenders marched in solid phalanx to the police station demanding that their uniform be returned. The Lieutenant in charge decided to keep the uniform along with the wearer, and the charge was sounded. The brave defenders of the flag bombarded the station with bricks, stones and sticks. Fifteen policemen, after firing a warning volley in the air waded into the fray with night sticks and clubbed the brave defenders into submission, placing the ring leaders under arrest, thus "insulting the uniform" again.

After delivering a severe lecture to the prisoners, telling them flatly they were a disgrace to the uniform,

Magistrate Baker, who not only respects the uniform, but also the law of the land, bound the "brave defenders" over in $1,000 bail each for inciting to riot. Had the police not promptly landed on this crowd bloodshed might have flowed. If these men had been colored, there would have been quite another story, and the white papers would have had headlines an inch high. Will they be discharged from the Navy without honor or will they be permitted to further disgrace the uniform? fact it will suffer. The sooner it does recognize it and act sensibly upon it the better for all concerned.

Several lay almost directly in front of St. Henry's Catholic Church, on South Broadway.

One of the results of the fire was to plunge parts of the city in darkness, and surgeons at St. Mary's Hospital and the emergency operating room opened in the the City Hall were forced to operate on Negroes while policemen held flashlights or candles over the table Dr. J. L. Wiggins said he operated on twelve Negroes injured from gunshot wounds. The total number of injured probably will reach 200.

The fire spread to Broadway Theater, at Seventh and Broadway, and destroyed the building, erected at a cost of $100,000. Fire also destroyed the Southern Railway's freighthouse at Fifth street and Southern tracks, the lost totaling $300,000.

Among the losses by fire were more than a hundred cars loaded with merchandise on sidings at the Southern Railway warehouse.

The burned area, which extended about a block along what is called the old rock road, to Sixth street, was also the scene of the bloodiest rioting. A crowd of about 600 whites among whom were a number of women and several children, shouted and hooted and exchanged shots with the Negro occupants in the homes.

"Burn them! Burn them!" was repeated over and over and in a few minutes thick volumes of smoke began coming out of some of the houses. The flames quickly spread and as word got about the district the mob closed in on the houses.

Shots were exchanged with Negroes who appeared at the windows and a score made attempts to dash out their homes under a volley of bullets. Some reached safety in the railroad yards, but more than a dozen fell dead.

Only conjectures as to the total number of dead could be made, because the police could not gather the bodies. It is believed more than fifty perished in the flames, preferring to burn to death rather than face the hail of bullets outside.

Twenty-five more Negroes were counted lying dead in the streets, along South Broadway and Fourth streets, near the scene of rioting probably as many more were killed in different parts of the city. Reports of lynchings began to come in rapidly, but so far the police have found only one authentic case of the hanging of a Negro.

Seventy-five white men were captured by a squad of militiamen in front of a drug store at 341 East Broadway, after the mob had attempted to drag an aged Negro to a pole. The Negro had been shot twice and was being beaten when the militiamen, with fixed bayonets, charged into the crowd.

The burned area in the so-called old Black Valley is about half a mile square and has about sixty homes of Negroes, mostly one story frame shacks. Fire started at both ends of the district and by sundown a pair of brass "knucks" and a badly bruised arm. He explained the injured arm by saying he had aimed a blow at a Negro, which missed, and he fell so hard his arm was injured.

At the car barns there were several cases of violence. A mob captured a Negro and beat him, then threw him aside for a new victim.

Many negroes were attempting to escape the violence of the whites after their own acts of the night before when, Coppedge was killed. A few got aboard cars coming over the Eads Bridge and into St. Louis. These carried hastily gathered baggage and were probably going to spend the next few days with friends in St. Louis.

Others were crossing the bridge on foot. A teamster at the St. Louis end of the bridge saw a group of five arrive here and shouted at them, 'Why so sour looking?"

Photographer's Camera Smashed.

At a ferry landing on the Illinois side was a group of about 100 Negroes waiting for the boat to take them across. Some were finding a tortuous way to the bridge approach and then getting across observed by only a few.

Two newspaper photographers who essayed to take pictures of the crowd yesterday morning, had their cameras taken from them and smashed to bits. Street cars stopped running at 7 o'clock, and increased forces were placed in the streets to take care of the trouble expected during the night.

—Globe Democrat. July 3.

THE FOLLOWING REPORT WAS MADE BY GEORGE AUSTIN OF 3500 CHEROKEE ST.

George Austin of 3500 Cherokee street, went across the free bridge at 6:10 o'clock and near the East St. Louis end met a Negro, closely pursued by two white men. The latter were stopped and arrested by policemen and soldiers, while the Negro fled across the bridge to safety on the Missouri side.

The street cars were not running but Austin got in an automobile and was driven as far as Broadway and Fourth streets. At this corner is a big warehouse, and to the rear of it the fire was blazing. Fleeing from the flames, Negro residents of the district met the equally deadly fury of the mob, and Austin saw three of them killed. Bullets were flying about the street like hail, he said.

The first two were shot down as they ran into Fourth street from the alley behind the warehouse. The third was strung up to a post. The fourth, as he emerged into the open, dropped to his knees and prayed for mercy.

Dragged at Rope's End.

"One man ran up to shoot him as he knelt there," said Austin, "but others pushed him aside. 'We're going to lynch the dog" and 'shooting's too good for him!' were the cries, interspersed with oaths. They tied a rope around his neck and began dragging him toward Broadway.

"The Negro staggered along, already half dead with terror, and every few steps some one would strike him on the head or in the face with a brick. He fell unconscious and was dragged along by the rope.

"There were some white women on the sidewalk, and one of them cried: 'If there is an American citizen among you he will stop this this.' The men only laughed. Several of the women, unnerved by the spectacle, fainted and fell to the sidewalk.

"Just as the mob surged into Broadway a company of militiamen arrived. Thinking they would shoot into the mob, I ran, and didn't see what happened afterward. But I heard no rifle firing."

White Women Attack Colored Women.

Austin returned to St. Louis in an automobile, the driver of which told him he saw a Negro, with his clothes in flames, run out into the street and fall. The mob did not stir a hand to put out the fire, but with shouts and laughter, watch the Negro burn to death.

As Negro women, escaping their burning homes, ran along Broadway, Austin said, white women beat them and tore off their clothes. The men, he asserted, seemed to leave this style of attack to the women.

—Globe Democrat. July 3.

CHIEF YOUNG HEADS SQUAD THAT DISARMS REFUGEES AT BRIDGE

The St. Louis approach to Eads bridge was in charge of Chief of Police Young. He and a group of patrolmen disarmed the Negroes fleeing from East St. Louis. In the first rush for the protection of this side, about 10 o'clock, more than 250 Negro men, women and children thronged into St. Louis.

Every kind of weapon was taken from the men by the searchers. A large stack of guns and revolvers were piled upon the sidewalk. Most of the crowd was marched to the police station on Clark avenue. About twenty of the more violent of the rioters were taken to headquarters in police wagons.

Chief Young began at once to place the better class of Negroes with St. Louis relatives or friends, for the night. Many of them came to the police voluntarily. The majority of those forming the exodus were given refuge in the Soulard Street and other police stations.

—Globe Democrat. July 3.

INDICTED RIOTER SAYS HE LED MOB TO LABOR TEMPLE

East St. Louis True Bills for 82 White Persons, 2 of Them Women, and 23 Negroes.

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
AUGUST 15, 1917

Richard S. Brockway, a special agent for the East St. Louis and Suburban Railway, who was the first white man arrested on a capias in East St. Louis, following the return of indictments yesterday by the St. Clair county grand jury against 105 persons for participation in the race riots of July 2, today admitted to a Post-Dispatch reporter that he was the "mysterious leared" who took the white mob to the Labor Temple at Collinsville avenue and State street, the center of the disturbances in which 40 whites and blacks lost their lives.

Brockway was arrested last night, together with several negroes. The capiases, for the arrest of others, are not expected to arrive in East St. Louis before late in the afternoon, when wholesale arrests will be made.

Warned Men Negroes Were Armed.

Brockway said that at 9 a. m. on the morning of July 2 he saw a crowd of 25 men going east on Broadway at Collinsville avenue, armed and crying "Let's get the niggers." The day before, the special agent said, he had paid a visit in the line of his business to the negro quarters and he had noticed that the blacks were heavily armed.

"I felt it to be my duty to remonstrate with the white men," Brockway asserted "I told them that the negroes were armed and that they would be probably all killed if they went into th eneighborhood. The men seemed bent on going ahead, but I finally persuaded them to come to the Labor Temple with me and talk things over.

"Att the temple I repeated that the negroes were armed and pointed out the danger to the white men. When the crowd left the temple I heard one of the men, whose name I do not know, say

"'We'll meet here this afternoon, boys.'

One hundred and five persons were indicted, of whom 82 are whites and 23 negroes. Two of the indicted white persons are women. Names are being withheld until arrests are made.

The grand jury's inquiry was directed by Attorney-General Brundage, who was actively represented at most of the grand jury's sessions by Assistant Attorney-General Middlekauf. Warren Hamill was foreman of the grand jury.

In its inquiry, because of the number of witnesses heard, and the number of places in East St. Louis where violence was committed, a large map of East St. Louis was used, and pins of different colors were stuck at different places, to indicate the scenes of acts which were described by witnesses. This proved of help also to some witnesses who were not familiar with the streets of East St. Louis and enabled the investigators to make definite much information which otherwise might not have been sufficiently concrete to use.

"Lieutenant of Police" Indicted.

"The Lieutenant of Police" has been indicted, the grand jury's report declares. Cornelius P. Hickey was Lieutenant of Police on July 1 and 2. He is under $5000 bond on a previous murder charge, resulting from the alleged killing of negroes under his orders.

The grand jury's list of indictments represents a month's work. There are 68 indictments, most of them naming more than one defendant, while in many cases one person is named in more than one indictment. There are nine indictments, charging 22 persons with murder; 11 charging 64 persons with conspiracy; 5 charging 27 persons with arson; 13 charging 69 persons with rioting; 26 charging 63 persons with assault to murder, 2 charging 4 persons with burglary; 1 charging 4 persons with malicious mischief, and 1 charging 1 person with arson for the purpose of defrauding.

MAJOR R. R. JACKSON TAKES ISSUE WITH BARNETT'S.

Planet 7/14/17

"Incendiarism," is the way Major R. R. Jackson, member of the Illinois general assembly characterizes the advice of former State's Attorney F. L Barnett that Negroes in Chicago buy guns.

"I dissent from the view of F. L. Barnett that 'one or two guns would not be too much in Negro households' as a protection against violence that may arise in Chicago," he declared. "To say such things is incendiarism."

"Conditions here are not as they are in East St. Louis. The great majority of Negroes here are hard working and are striving to better their condition. My impression is that many of the Negroes in East St. Louis are of the hoodlum class."

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

"BLACK MAN, STAY IN THE SOUTH," NOW SAYS THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Constitution 6/24/17

(From The Chicago Tribune.)

They say down south that "niggers are all right in their place," but where is that place? South? At Memphis, Tenn., a negro was recently burned alive. North? At East St. Louis, Ill., negroes are mobbed, beaten, and run out of town.

We taunt the south with race prejudice when it burns a "bad nigger," but just see how we northerners detest even "good niggers!" The real race prejudice is ours. Our very philanthropists betray it. They say to a black man, "God bless you, good-bye," whereas the south says, "—— —— you, come here!" Or put it this way: The northerner is a great friend of the negro but not of a negro; the southerner is a great friend of a negro, but not of the negro.

Professor Munsterberg once described the race as "passive at every turn of fortune," yet within the last year negroes by the thousand have actively undertaken to find a place for themselves. They have come north. It was a huge mistake. They escape barbarous punishment for their occasional crimes while winning no appreciation for their habitual virtues. They are disliked. When their presence becomes a burden, as at East St. Louis, they are abused.

It is on these terms only that they enjoy the longed for "liberties of the north"—its "social equality," for instance. But do they really enjoy that? Our observation goes to show that the negro is happiest when the white race asserts its superiority, provided that sympathy and understanding accompany the assertion. Not long ago a Virginian noticed a very gloomy black porter in a northern hotel, and, learning that the negro had come from Virginia, said, "You —— —— black fool, go back to Virginia!" The reply revealed much: "Oh, Cunnel, dem's de fust kind wuds dat's been spoken to me since Ah come up noff!"

Southerners insist that "the nigger must be kept down." They enforce the color line. Yet they will work side by side with negroes, befriend them in adversity, and overlook their minor failings. Gradually they are working toward better surroundings for the negro. They do not hate negroes. In their hearts they like them. Said Dooley: "I'm naught throubled whin the naygur is amon'st his oppressors, Hinnessy. What throubles me is whin he falls into th' hands iv his liberators."

MOBBING NEGROES IN ILLINOIS.

advertiser

The six thousand Southern negroes who were carried to the Illinois town of East St. Louis certainly have no complaint as to the warmth of their reception. These colored people who were guilty of nothing, except the making of an effort to earn an honest living by manual labor, were set upon by a howling mob, beaten up, shot at and chased from pillar to post, like wild beasts.

5-30-17

This is by no means the first time that the Southern negro, who went North, has come up against the selfish determination of the Northern white man, not to let him work for his living. This is a new situation for the Southern negro; where he came from if there was work to do, he was allowed to do it, as much so as the white man. In the South the negro was the victim of no bloody economic strife. Nobody told him he could not go to work; he was encouraged in every way to go to work.

When he had no chance to sell his labor, it was because there was no labor market, and the white man as well as the black man was idle. But in the North he faces a new and a dangerous condition. He comes into conflict with workmen, who are often strongly entrenched, financially and economically and who issues a flat fiat that the negro shall not work in competition with him.

East St. Louis, where the innocent negroes were maltreated, is an industrial center. The manufacturing plants there need men; they needed more men before the present strike was called by many of the white laborers. The oily tongued labor agents never told the Southern negroes that a labor war awaited them, in which they would have to fight against overwhelming odds; they only held out the seductive promise of high wages.

The East St. Louis riot is significant; it is more than a sporadic outbreak of violence; it is typical of the determination of many Northern workingmen not to permit the labor of the negro to come into competition with their own labor, and of their purpose to use violent force to drive out such competition. Again, it should carry a lesson to the Southern negro, for the executive and peace officials to whom the negroes naturally look for protection, are in open sympathy with the rioters.

No sensible white man could blame many of the negroes for leaving the South, during the dark days of last fall, when the farms and plantations failed to provide a living for either the white man or the negro. The negro could not see his family suffer without an effort to go somewhere, where his labor would furnish them with food. It was a distressing situation in which the negro, as the weakest member of society, suffered most.

But, if the truth be told, the negroes who were actually suffering for food and clothing were only a part of the great number who went North. The South was filled with itinerant labor agents who took the negroes to the top of the mountains and showed them the wealth of the labor world beneath. Not a few negroes who had attained small competencies sold out at a sacrifice, all they had, and embarked upon the adventure of a trip to the North. Many of the negroes who had certain and steady jobs in the South hark-ened to the call of bigger wages promised in the North.

Not all these negroes who went North have suffered; some have gotten good jobs at good wages, even in surroundings which they do not like. But their presence in the North has created new problems in all the industrial cities, and officials of these cities, with the friendliest feelings in the world for the negro, are now urging Southern negroes to stay in the South, as conditions in the North are being misrepresented to them. All these industrial cities are faced with the grave problem of housing and often feeding Southern negroes.

And above all this is the danger in the determination of the Northern workman that the negro shall not compete with him.

THE EAST ST. LOUIS RIOT.

The attack made by an East St. Louis, Ill., mob on negroes who were imported to work in factories and munition plants in that city shows that the west is having a problem of its own in dealing with the negro.

Constitution

Here in the south the right to work has never been denied the negro. 5-30-17

And his right to work is his right to live.

For it is the fundamental right upon which his very existence depends.

But three thousand persons—as a dispatch from East St. Louis stated—swept through the streets of that Illinois city, shouting that the community must be rid of the negroes who went there to obtain work —"attacking and beating them wherever found."

And the East St. Louis incident is by no means the exception when it comes to race antagonism as affecting negroes who leave home "to better their condition"—to get "rights" alleged to have been denied them at home.

It is pretty much the same everywhere—north or west.

He is not wanted when he gets there.

All that is needed to give him a practical demonstration of the fact that he is not wanted "up north" is the incentive—often slight—as in the city of New York, recently when a negro entered a saloon, and precipitated a race riot by protesting against an alleged overcharge for a drink.

Result of the riot—according to a New York Times report—one unidentified negro killed, and a number of persons seriously injured.

It is stated that "2,000 fought with pistols, knives and fists."

"Up north" a great deal is heard about the "rights of the negro," but when it comes to the test the negro finds that here, after all, in the south he knows, and that knows him best, is his best chance; here are his best friends.

How long will it take the negro to learn this—that the Land of Promise is not distant from his home-door, in a land of strangers, where he has to begin life over again under adverse conditions?

Some of them are learning the truth of this in a sad experience school.

AN INSIDIOUS PROPAGANDA

Southwestern Christian advocate 7/25/17

No single event related to the Negro since the emancipation has developed such a nation-wide discussion as the East St. Louis massacre. It has been the occasion of unnumbered public addresses and nearly every paper in the nation has made some reference to it. In many instances this occurrence has been the basis of long articles in magazines and in daily papers. Students of social conditions have made careful investigation of the conditions and causes leading up to this awful slaughter of innocent men, women and children. On the whole, the best article that we have seen, the fairest to all concerned, is the one in the September Pearson's Magazine by Martha Gruening.

No one can understand the East St. Louis massacre unless he is familiar with race conditions North and South to the most exacting detail. This article shows familiarity with general race conditions, and gives a careful and impartial survey of the facts leading up to the East St. Louis riot, the state of the temperament of the community since the riot and a penetration into the psychology and ethics of East St. Louis as a municipality.

Miss Gruening unmasks the whole situation in the first paragraph of her article when she says, "What I have seen and heard convinces me that the cause of the recent riots lies in the unparalleled cruelty, arrogance and race snobbery of the white American. There were other immediate causes for the outbreak, the Negro influx with the ensuing competition between Northern white labor and the Negro, political corruption, criminality among a certain element of both whites and Negroes. But none of these is in itself sufficient to account for a massacre of such proportions and of such peculiar fiendish-

ness."

There will be, no doubt, thousands who will differ from this opinion, but it will be largely those whose estimate of the situation is colored by "race snobbery." We tolerate to an alarming degree racial antipathy, which not only reduces the progress of the nation as a whole, but is in itself a sleeping volcano which may break out at any time and at any place with such awful slaughter as occurred in East St. Louis.

After giving a number of detailed observations on the East St. Louis riot, Miss Gruening digs deep when she says, "A far more important element to my mind, and one habitually underestimated, in such cases, is the unceasing and insidious propaganda against the Negro conducted by his arch enemies of the South; a propaganda which manages always to keep abreast of his movements, to sow distrust of him in advance and to fan into flame any resentment that may arise on the part of white labor when it meets the Negro as a competitor. This was never more true than at the present time when the white South wishes above all things to keep its cheap Negro labor."

Here is the truth with the bark off it. This is the propoganda that has victimized our friends. If the Negro and his friends recognized the fact that an insidious propaganda is being waged, that would be the first step to meet it, but it is not recognized. Our friends in the North have simply been duped by this propaganda, believing that our "best white friends in the South" are attempting to be fair. These propagandists have gone North and adroitly put forward the Southern attitude toward the Negro in such a manner that thousands upon thousands of well meaning people have been taken in and have changed their attitude toward the Negro. Thomas Dixon is not the only one who has been conducting a propaganda against the Negro. There are men in high places, in Church and in State with a sanctimonious air and with a pretense for justice and fair play who have been as persistent as Thomas Dixon, and more effective because they were more adroit and insidious. Instead of a paragraph on this very acute situation in the racial conditions of this country, Miss Gruening might have contributed an entire article. We have known for years, because we have felt the effect of it, that this propaganda was on. It is not only weakening the Negro, but has put the Negro on the defensive. There have been those of the North who have accepted the teachings of these Southern propagandists without the slightest investigation. The Negro comes up, finds a change of attitude and instead of a chance to meet the charges alleged against him, meets his former friends. This accounts for the reversal of opinion in the North against the Negro, so that it is becoming hard to secure necessary funds to conduct our work in the South, and has thrown the cold blanket over the enthusiastic sympathy of the Negro's friends. A truer statement on racial conditions was never made than this statement of Miss Gruening.

Of course labor unions figured in the East St. Louis massacre. Miss Gruening says, "It is charged by the labor forces that certain big corporations in East St. Louis, particularly the packing houses and the Aluminum Ore Packing Co., imported Negroes by the carload for the purpose of breaking strikes and supplanting white labor. Although this has been denied by the managers of the plants in question, it is generally believed to be true, not only by the labor men, but also by other business men of East St. Louis. The tendency here has been to blame the capitalist unreservedly for such importation. There is no doubt that insofar as they have been guilty of it, their aim has been to undermine labor standards and to stamp out labor organization, but labor itself is not without its share of responsibility in making a strike-breaker of the Negro. Until the unions cease to discriminate against him, in fact as well as in theory, he not only will continue to be, but ought to be a strike-breaker."

It is our purpose to discuss this phase of the general situation more extensively at some later time. We want to state, however, in this connection, that we fully sympathize with the conclusion reached by Miss Gruening. Labor unions in the North have been persistent in their discriminations against the Negro. Unionism has made the Negro's life in the North hard and has done more to keep the Negro out of the North than anything else. If the labor unions are now turning toward the Negro, it is because they are forced to do it, and we must always be careful of "Greeks bearing gifts." We regret that we cannot reproduce this article appearing in Pearson's Magazine in full. It is very well worth while and it is a substantial contribution to the discussion of the East St. Louis massacre, as it relates to the entire question of the race situation in this country.

East St. Louis Rioters Are Under Investigation

Kansas City Post

By a Staff Correspondent

St. Louis, Mo., June 15—The committee from the Illinois Defense Council which went to East St. Louis under the direction of Gov. Lowden to take evidence and attempt to fix the blame for the riots, after a week has accomplished nothing which was not foreseen by those who know conditions. Your correspondent developed the fact some time ago that the reason for the large influx from the south was due solely to the high wage scale and no evidence was discovered of any concerted effort on the part of employers to induce laborers to seek the city in anticipation of a strike, as was charged by organized labor. In an interview with the superintendent of one of the large plants, which employs normally from 1,500 to 1,800 men, 35 per cent of whom are Colored, drawing from $2.35 to $5.75 a day, according to the work they do, the official questioned gave it as his firm conviction that the riots were the outgrowth of strikes in several plants in previous years when organized labor lost and unorganized labor was established in positions.

Labor Leaders After Control

Labor leaders want to regain control of the situation, and if the Negro is run off the job they foresee hopes of unionizing the whites and forcing their terms on the employers. It was also firmly stated that Race help did work which it was impossible to get white men to do, and that without them it would be a physical impossibility to operate. The man said. "The Negro is as necessary to my company as the buildings we occupy, and without him we would have to close down; we cannot do without him. He is vital."

Continuing, he said: "There is an actual shortage of labor here, and my advice for Colored men who may have left is to return; all our old men are back and we are running under normal conditions, but if things continue as they have in the past, I would not be surprised before the war is over to see large firms compelled to import even Chinese laborers to do their work."

The committee sent to the east side by the governor consists of John H. Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor; John H. Harrison, editor Danville Commercial-News, and Dr. Frank Billings (all white). Frank Cunningham (white), station master at the Relay depot, in his testimony before the committee said that no local corporations had ever made arrangements with him to furnish transportation from southern points to the city, but that hundreds had called on him and deposited money for tickets for relatives or friends. One man said he formerly worked in a Tennessee sawmill for $1 a day. When he reached East St. Louis he found a job that paid him $2.80 a day and he had no idea of going back.

What People Should Demand

So far as any one has been able to learn, there has been no evidence of any testimony taken which indicates that there is a serious attempt to fix the identity of the rioters and those whites who were active in fomenting the trouble. The men who pulled off the meeting at the city hall should be able to give some light on this situation; Charles Lehman ought to know considerable, also Alexander Flannigan, the lawyer.

Going into the economic situation is work which other agencies will probably have to deal with before many months to meet the demands of the munition makers, etc., but in this specific case the people of Illinois should and do demand the punishment of those rowdies who took part in the lawlessness of rioting, together with those who doubtless conspired to bring the matter to a head, and their speedy punishment. Until this is done the decent citizens of the state will not be secure in pursuing their peaceful vocations. Uncovering already known economic conditions will only serve to whitewash the whole affair and leave the city unpunished. **The law-loving citizens of the state should not be hoodwinked** by any such investigation. Some explanation should be forthcoming from Mayor Mollman on his pusillanimous performance of his duty.

WIRE SENATOR WEEKS

Guardian 7/7/17

COMMITTEE OF COLORED CITIZENS ASK HIM TO SECURE FEDERAL LAW TO PREVENT REPITION OF EAST ST. LOUIS RACE RIOTS.

(Boston Post, July 5, 1917.)

A federal investigation of the Illinois race massacre and a federal law to prevent such slaughter in the future were the positive steps demanded by a committee of Colored citizens in a telegram to Senator Weeks on the East St. Louis race riots. The telegram to Senator Weeks was as follows:

"Boston, Mass., July 4, 1917.

"To the Hon. John W. Weeks, Washington, D. C.

"Amazed to hear United States Senator Calls East St. Louis massacrte and holocaust 'economical question.' If ever there was great humane question before America and world, this is one. Cannot hope defeat foreign foe when federal troops supinely allow innocent, defenceless American citizens killed at home. We petition you, a Senator from Massachusetts, to move a federal investigation of this slaughter of men, women and children; this national disgrace and menace to country's safety. Secure federal law to prevent its recurrence."

The telegram was signed by Alfred P. Purcell, Jr., Clement G. Morgan, William Monroe Trotter and Samuel Jackson.

Riots—1917

Negroes Started, but White Men Finished It, Is Callous Opinion of East St. Louisans

Town Strangely Quiet After Mob Attacks, and Few Express Sympathy or Regret for Dead or Those Driven from Homes.

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 4, 1917

Dawn came to East St. Louis yesterday after a night of death and arson, but it was not a "cold, gray dawn" of the kind that has to do with headaches and regrets and "never-again" resolutions.

It was not cold, but graciously warm; there was no tinge of gray, except the drifting smoke wreaths from the ashes that had been homes; nor was there seemingly any regret.

Strangely quiet it seemed after the tumult of the night as the mobs swept through the negro districts with weapon and torch, strangely colorless after the red glare of a hundred burning buildings.

And strangely quiet and composed were the early morning throngs who paused to gaze with callous eyes on the scene of destruction. Workingmen on their way to the great packing plants and factories asked casual questions, received disinterested answers and passed on seemingly unimpressed.

The lack of feeling evidently was not the irresponsible one of failure to appreciate the enormity of the things that had been done, of the lives taken and the property destroyed. It was a total lack of sympathy with the victims of the mob.

Take It as Matter of Fact.

If all did not approve of the rioters' work, at least none openly expressed disapproval. On the other hand, there was little exultation manifested. East St. Louisans took the affairs of the night in a most matter-of-fact way. Few even wasted time in speculations as to whether further trouble was to be anticipated.

"The niggers started it," said one man, "and the white folks did the finishing."

There was no ring of vengeance satisfied in his statement. It was as colorless as his frayed work trousers; as commonplace as his newspaper-wrapped bundle of lunch. The little group of men around him nodded silent agreement. None seemed inclined to criticise the justice of the retribution visited upon the negroes for an attack upon the police; none evidently thought it necessary to condone the work of the mob.

"The niggers started it" appeared sufficient explanation, in their minds.

Little Police Criticism.

Nor did there seem any disposition on the part of the police to criticise the excesses of the rioters.

"The niggers started it," said they, too. Memory of their wounded and slain comrades was red fresh in their minds.

And one found among the khaki-clad soldiers a total lack of sympathy for the victims of the outbreak.

On the contrary, there was a certain disposition to justify the rioters. "Why, say," said one of the guardsmen, indicating a row of smoking debris with the butt of his rifle, "when the fire got going good it sounded like a battle. There were hundreds of cartridges in those houses. Tell me those niggers hadn't armed themselves for trouble."

"And last night when they brought us over here we were shot at half a dozen times," broke in another.

Then the face of a patrolman, who leaned against a bullet-scarred automobile, expanded into a grin. "Took a shot or two at you," he said. "Say, I've been a target for two days. Last night I had some of the soldier officers in this car—we made a run out where we'd heard a white man had been shot—and they bombarded us going and coming.

"They shot high, lucky for us, and beat it when we turned loose with our guns.

"Sure, the niggers started it." His voice became aggressive. "And we know who the ringleader was. He's ducked, but we'll get him. I'd like to be the guy who sees him first, for I'd——" A suggestive hitch of the heavy automatic which hung from his cartridge-weighted belt completed the sentence.

And so, from the ash heaps and crumbling chimneys which was all that was left of a row of negro houses a stone's throw from the City Hall, to fire-swept blocks far away to the southeast, near the terminus of the free bridge, not a voiced regret, not an expression of sympathy could be heard.

What the negroes said among themselves one hardly could learn. There were few to be seen, and most of them kept close to their houses. Across the street from one fire-devastated block, was a row of houses intact, except for a few broken windows. Negro women stood silently on the porches and steps, and lurking in hallways were a few negro men. None would discuss the happenings

East St. Louis

of the night. They did not appear even to talk among themselves, but stood stolidly, some sullen of face, but obviously convinced that a still tongue was the price of safety.

Few Blacks in District.

Down in the heart of the former negro district—for the district virtually has ceased to exist—hardly a black was to be seen. A few boys were poking around in the ruins, but even these kept quiet and carefully steered clear of the groups of white men.

Further out in the district, near the terminus of the free bridge, more negroes were in evidence, but they kept to themselves. Most of them had fled to fields nearby when the mob appeared and remained in hiding until the coming of daylight and the soldiers.

A few of the more venturesome blacks were to be seen along Broadway, where many blocks of negro dwellings and stores had been destroyed. This was the scene of some of the worst excesses of the mob. A group of men with whom were mingled several women and children were gathered about a pile of ruins, poking at something.

One of the negroes shuffled closer. "There's two bodies," said one of the group of white men, pushing aside some charred sticks and more plainly revealing what lay beneath.

The negro scuttled away.

No Expressions of Sympathy.

And in the group that stood near the bodies there was heard no expression of sympathy; no voicing of regret.

A young man pushed his way to the front. "Where's that 'good nigger?' he asked jovially and stared down with interest at the scorched things that had been men.

"The niggers started it," came from some one in the crowd. There was no dissent.

A smiling young workingman plucked at the sleeve of a man who had come from the direction of downtown and had joined the group.

"Say," he asked, "are they searching white men downtown, too?"

He smiled more broadly when assured "they were not," and hastened away. One looked at the charred bodies and wondered a bit as to the reasons for his anxiety to know whether "they were searching white men, too."

As the sun climbed higher and the pulse of life throbbed quicker in the city's streets, the inevitable throngs of curiosity seekers began to swarm about the scenes of the mob's violence.

Terrible, Women Declare.

And then, and not until then, was heard the first note of sympathy for the victims of the rioters.

It came from one of a group of women in the tonneau of a big touring car that drew up beside a building from which ambulance men were removing a charred body.

"Isn't it just awful? It's terrible!" the woman exclaimed.

"The niggers started it," came in a resentful mutter from a man in the crowd.

Yes, East St. Louis had its "morning after," and the "dark brown taste" of it was the brown of the khaki uniforms of the soldiers, with their business-like rifles stacked on the City Hall lawn; and if there were no openly voiced regrets and "never agains," there most certainly were some uneasy twinges and tuggings of conscience, that is, judging from the defensive tone of that often repeated:

"Well, the niggers started it."

GIRL TELLS AT RIOT INQUIRY OF ACTS OF TWO OFFICIALS

MILWAUKEE SIGNAL
JULY 20 1917

Story Causes Order for Inquiry Into Conduct of L. L. Walcott and C. P. Coultas.

TREATMENT DESCRIBED

Asserts Walcott Lisited Her Several Times When She Was Held in Hotel.

Chairman Johnson of the Congressional Committee investigating the East St. Louis race riots, after a subcommittee this afternoon had heard Myrtle Gardner, 19 years old tell of being lured to an East St. Louis hotel two years ago, ordered an investigation of the conduct of Assistant State's Attorney Lloyd V. Walcott and United States Commissioner C. P. Coultas, and directed that the United States District Attorney take steps immediately to protect the Gardner girl from assassination.

The subcommittee, consisting of Chairman Johnson and Congressman Cooper, found the girl dangerously sick of tuberculosis at the home of Mrs. Grace Yent, proprietor of a furniture store, 117 North Third street.

Sworn Story by Girl.

The girl under oath testified as follows:

"Two years ago I was lured to the Star Hotel, conducted by Steve Unk, at Twentieth street and Missouri avenue, East St. Louis, on the representation that I was to be employed at housework. When they got me into the place my clothes were taken from me and I was subjected to the visits of men. I was then 17 years old.

"I was required to earn a certain amount of money each day and if I did not, I was not given anything to eat. I was also required to see that the men who visited me bought a certain amount of beer.

"On one occasion Mrs. Unk took took me to St. Louis, where an operation was performed on me at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and then I was taken back to the hotel. Unk visited me at midnight that night.

"About a year ago my health began to fail.

"A frequent visitor to the Star Hotel was Lloyd V. Walcott, Assistant State's Attorney, who came probably four or five times a month. Unk once forced me to receive Walcott in my room. Unk formerly had been an interpreter for Walcott and had aided him in getting law business from foreigners.

Says She Was Driven Out.

"About last June or July my health had become so poor that the Unks drove me out. I worked for awhile as a maid in the Planters and Terminal Hotels in St. Louis, but became so sick I had to quit. I came over to Mrs. Yent's and I have been in bed here since August.

"While I was at the Star Hotel I was not permitted to talk to anybody who understood English, and was not permitted to write any letters. My shoes were taken from me and the only clothing I was permitted to have was an apron.

"I was an ignorant country girl when I came up here from Kentucky looking for work."

Dorbal Crook, an employe at Mrs. Yent's store, and a boarder at the house, testified:

"Since the girl has been here foreigners have visited the house nearly every day and have tried to get access to the girl. District Attorney Karch heard of the matter and took the girl, Mrs. Yent and myself before the grand jury in Danville. Unk afterward was arrested on Mann act charges and bootlegging. He was convicted of the latter and sentenced to 30 days in jail and a fine of $100.

"One day a foreigner got in the place and upstairs before I got to him. He thrust $1 into my hand and rushed out. Immediately afterward Mrs. Yent, the girl and myself were arrested on charges of conducting a disorderly house. The arrest was a 'frame-up' to discredit our testimony in the cases against Unk. The warrants were issued from Justice Clark's court.

"I was advised by an officer to retain C. P. Coultas, United States Commissioner, as my attorney. I went to his office and there found that Coultas, Walcott and Jerry Sullivan, corporation counsel, had adjoining offices. I went away without seeing him. Sullivan defended Unk in the bootleging case at Danville."

Orders Girl Protected.

At the conclusion of the testimony Chairman Johnson said that he feared the Gardner girl's life was in danger and directed that she be removed to a hospital. He called upon Assistant District Attorney McCawley Baird to provide protection for the girl, Mrs. Yent and Crook.

RACE RIOTERS FIRE EAST ST. LOUIS AND SHOOT OR HANG MANY NEGROES; DEAD ESTIMATED AT FROM 20 TO 75

MANY BODIES IN THE RUINS

Mobs Rage Unchecked for 24 Hours Till Military Rule Is Established.

FLAMES ENDANGER CITY

Whole Business District Is Threatened—Loss So Far Is Put at $3,000,000.

GIRLS ACTIVE IN MOBS

Clash Caused by Influx of Blacks Brought from the South by Labor Agents.

Special to The New York Times.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 2.—Many negroes have been killed in race riots which have been raging here since Sunday night. At a late hour most estimates of the dead range from twenty to seventy-five, of whom three were white men. The negroes were shot down by mobs as they fled from their homes which the whites had set on fire. The disturbances arose out of the ill-feeling engendered by the importation of negro labor from the South.

State Attorney Schaumloeffel of St. Clair County, in which East St. Louis is situated, drove through the riot district tonight with Police Inspector Walsh of St. Louis, Mo. The State's Attorney estimated that the dead negroes would number 250, but all estimates are conjectural.

Thousands of persons were in the mobs. The rioting is a renewal of race troubles that occurred here a month ago, following the importation of large numbers of negro laborers from the South.

Military rule was proclaimed at 8 o'clock tonight, and at the same time 300 white men were arrested and locked up at Police Headquarters.

Nearly 500 negro men, women, and children are quartered in the City Hall and the police station. At frequent intervals all evening, and until late at night, trucks brought negro refugees from burning sections to augment the cowering groups at these refugee buildings, where a strong guard of troops was stationed. Terror spread among the black men and women at 10:30 P. M., when all the lights in both buildings suddenly went out, due to the destruction of electric wires in the downtown district.

Adjt. Gen. Frank S. Dickson of Illinois arrived and took charge of the situation late tonight. He went into conference immediately with military and civil authorities to outline a plan of procedure. In answer to a question as to why the troops on the ground when the trouble developed did not use force to put down the rioting, General Dickson said the purposes for which the soldiers were sent here had been gained without firing a shot, and that wholesale bloodshed would have been the result of any firing on the part of the troops.

"Five hundred rioters, the ringleaders of the largest mob, I am informed, are now under arrest," said General Dickson. "This was accomplished by surrounding the rioters and forcing them to submit without shooting or employing the bayonet."

General Dickson said after the 500 were taken into custody the disturbance at once took on a less serious aspect.

One of the fires which was started in the negro belt between Third Street and Railroad Avenue spread beyond the control of city firemen, and is threatening the business section of the city at a late hour. Another fire, started by part of the mob in Black Valley, a negro segregated district, between Fourth and Sixth Streets and Broadway and Railroad Avenue, spread until the firefighters admitted that it, too, was beyond their control.

Loss $3,000,000 Already.

The property loss so far is estimated by City Attorney Fekete at $3,000,000. At 11 P. M. another fire had broken out in the extreme northern portion of the city, where there is a negro section. This brought the burning sections to four, lighting the entire city with their glare.

Colonel Tripp, Assistant Adjutant General, stated shortly before midnight that the rioting crowds had for the most part dispersed.

When a report came to military authorities that negroes of Brooklyn, Ill., were moving on East St. Louis, a truck full of guardsmen was sent to the bridge to meet any attack that might be attempted. At the same time another truckload of soldiers was rushed to a corner near the Post Office, where negroes barricaded in upstairs quarters had been firing at soldiers standing guard in the street below.

The worst property damage was done along the tracks of the Southern Railroad Company, where the Southern's warehouse and between 100 and 150 cars, many of them loaded with merchandise, were consumed by flames. The damage there was estimated at between $.00,000 and $500,000.

The Broadway Theatre, valued at $100,000, was destroyed. At night the flames were moving steadily along the tracks, almost unhindered by the feeble efforts of the firemen which were directed toward preventing the blaze from spreading to more important buildings.

Soldiers Ordered to Shoot.

All street railway traffic was suspended at 7 P. M., and theatres and saloons were ordered closed. At that hour, the militiamen were given instructions to shoot to kill in suppressing the white mobs. They at once started a tour of the city, rounding up the blood-mad men, who were out to avenge the death of Policeman Coppedge and William Kayser, a hardware merchant, two of the white men killed.

The third white man killed was Thomas Moore of Granite City. He was standing beside a soldier when a bullet struck him. The shot apparently was intended for the soldier.

Thirty-five houses in Black Valley were in flames within half an hour after the fire started. The blaze spread fast toward the centre of the business district. All fire apparatus in the city was assembled at Third Street and Broadway, where the firemen began a battle to save the town. When the flames reached Broadway a second general alarm was sounded, and apparatus from the St. Louis side of the river was rushed to East St. Louis.

It is estimated that 50,000 men and women were in the streets and that more than two-thirds of this number were armed. Small boys carried revolvers and were shooting at the blacks. Two hundred militiamen were on duty in the zone affected by the fire, but despite fixed bayonets they were unable to control the mob.

Every hospital on the east side is filled with blacks who are so severely injured that many will probably die. Police headquarters is packed with negroes badly beaten and shot. It is estimated that eighty negroes and ten white men have been injured.

One section of the mob gathered around a lone negro on Fourth Street, near Broadway. A rope was thrown around his neck and he was hoisted up a telephone pole, but the rope broke. Men and women in the mob shouted gleefully as the negro fell into the gutter, while half a dozen men riddled his body with bullets. Negroes are lying in the gutters every few feet in some places.

Girls Join the Mob.

Seized with the mob spirit, two young white girls climbed on a car at Broadway and Main Street about 4 P. M. and dragged a negro woman from her seat. As they pulled her through the door of the car to the street, there was a great cheer from men standing on the sidewalk. The negro woman attempted to break away from her assailants, and one of the girls pulled off her shoe and started to beat the victim over the head. The woman flinched under the blows, and was bleeding profusely when rescued by militiamen. The girls were not arrested, and walked away from the scene. There were blood stains on their clothes, and as they passed their friends they told about the part they had played in the riot.

Whenever a white man attempted to drag a negro from the street, intending to give him medical attention, the mob, with drawn pistols, forced him to desist. Several negroes who were killed were thrown into Cahokia Creek.

A mob of more than 100 men, led by ten or fifteen young girls about 18 years old, chased a negro woman at the Relay Depot about 5 o'clock. The girls were brandishing clubs and calling upon the men to kill the woman.

A lone negro man appeared in the railroad yards. The mob immediately gave up the chase of the woman and turned upon the man. He was shot to death.

Militiamen Fire a Volley.

About 8:30 o'clock a mob of more than 500 men, all heavily armed, charged into the negro district on Third Street and set fire to a number of houses. Before these men could start other fires two companies of militiamen, numbering more than 200, charged with fixed bayonets. A volley was fired over the heads of the mob, which then dispersed.

Charles Beach, an ambulance driver for the Deaconess Hospital, was shot and seriously wounded at Tenth and Bond Streets. He was accompanied on the ambulance by John Cange, who was not hit. Negroes congregated at Tenth and Duncan Streets and fired a fusilade into the ambulance. But for Cange's quick action it is likely the automobile would have crashed into a house and turned over. As Beach fell limp from the seat Cange took the wheel and drove with him to the hospital.

While straggling groups of soldiers and police looked on, a large crowd of white men gathered at Fourth Street and Broadway at 7:30 o'clock and captured two negroes who ran from the rear of a burning building. Placing a rope around their necks, the mob attempted to hang them to a telephone pole. The police and soldiers did not offer any interference. Finding the rope inadequate for the weight of the men, they were dragged screaming, to an alley, where many shots were fired into their bodies.

One of the negroes was dragged back to the pole and a new rope was tied around his neck. As two white men attempted to pull him into the air, the rope broke, throwing the white men on their backs, to the amusement of the mob. The negro fell to the ground, dead.

Three more negroes were seen by the mob as the terrorized blacks were trying to escape from a burning building. One of them was strung up to a telephone pole and the other two were shot. The bodies were left in the street.

Colonel Tripp early in the evening figured in the rescue of a negro who was being dragged down Broadway by a rope attached to his neck. The automobile bearing the Colonel and City Attorney Fekete appeared when a mob was in the act of stringing the negro to a telephone pole. Colonel Tripp leaped from the automobile and persuaded the white attackers to desist from their plan to kill the negro.

City Attorney Fekete later in the night saved the life of another young negro who was running from a crowd which had fired a number of shots at him while he was visible in the glare of burning buildings. Fekete placed the negro in his automobile, and, after arguing for ten minutes with the group of men, succeeded in gaining their consent to allow him to take the negro to the City Hall for protection.

Negroes Seized on Street Cars.

The whites began their attacks on street cars shortly before noon, and several negroes were taken from the cars and beaten or pelted with bricks. Eight negroes were injured in this manner before 1 o'clock.

At 1:30 o'clock a crowd of whites pulled the trolley from an Edwardsville car. A mob entered the car and dragged out all the negro passengers. One of them was kicked and beaten by the crowd and then shot. He died in the ambulance on the way to a hospital.

A Bellevue car appeared next. White women as well as men entered the car and pulled out the negroes. Women and girls seized terrified negro women, kicked and clubbed them, and sent them screaming down the street.

Shortly after 2 o'clock the mob pursued a negro down Collinsville Avenue. He was caught and severely beaten. A militiaman stood guard over him and tried to keep the crowd back, but was hustled aside. Fifteen other militiamen who ran to his aid were disarmed. Men in the mob fired the rifles and returned them to the soldiers.

One hundred white men met at Labor Temple Hall, 408 Collinsville Avenue, marched down the avenue, and into Broadway, the most important transfer point in the city, they encountered a negro on a street car. He attempted to run out the front end of the car, but was seized, knocked down, and repeatedly kicked. As he lay on the ground a white man in the mob standing over him fired six bullets into his body.

The mob then turned back down the street, at the mouth of Black Valley, where fifty negroes had assembled. The white men turned again, and in front of the Illmo Hotel came upon a lone negro. He ran, and the white mob hurled bricks at him. Some one fired two shots at the fleeing black, but he managed to escape.

At least 6,000 white men and women paraded through the downtown streets shortly after noon demanding that the authorities force every negro to leave town. Riot calls swept into Police Headquarters, and patrol wagons dashed about the city in what appeared to be a futile effort to stop the growing disregard of the mobs for law and order. In many instances the patrol wagons were bombarded with bricks and other missiles, and policemen were openly jeered.

Negroes Fire on Police.

The disorder began when a mob of 200 negroes fired on an automobile load of policemen last night, killing one. For several days there had been evidences of bad blood, and on Saturday night minor clashes between whites and blacks had occurred. These clashes apparently alarmed the negro quarter of the city, or at least gave agitators a chance to organize the blacks for fighting. When word was telephoned to Police Headquarters that the ringing of a church bell had called armed negroes together, an automobile loaded with police left for the scene to disperse the crowd. The police were met with a volley. Detective Sergeant Coppedge was killed and three policemen were wounded.

C. W. Wallace, editor of a negro religious publication, said the firing on the police was due to a misunderstanding.

Riots—1917

E. ST. LOUIS IS QUIET AFTER THE RACE MASSACRE

argus 7/13/17

Three Thousand Military Men In Charge. Negroes Urged To Return. Protection Guaranteed. Popular Demand For Government Invstigation.

As we go to press, East St. Louis seems to have quieted down over the embers of burned homes and perhaps the corpses of undiscovered charred bodies of victims of the disgraceful massacre of July 2. The militia is in full control and a pall of shame permeates the disgraced Illinois city. The better citizens have awakened to the true realization of the horro of the terrible crimes perpetrated, almost on the eve of Independence Day, and now rise to call back the innocent sufferers, avowing atonement for the unpardonable sin.

Although hundreds of refugees have sorrowfully retraced their steps across the mighty Father of Waters to again take up their honest labors, many remain in St. Louis in pitiful conditions. Some are crippled for life, some are suffering the painful effects of unjust treatment, some are nothesless, all are sad. Mothers with little children linger without a protecting husband and father to cheer them. Husbands whose wives succumbed to the bloody lust, children who have been orphaned by the hand of evil fate.

So many cases of misery constantly appear before the eyes of the noble citizens of St. Louis who are working unceasingly to help the needy, that it has become a continual nightmare.

The Municipal Lodging House was ...ned Wednesday morning and im...tely steps were taken by the N. A. A. C. P. to care for those still dependent, by arranging with the Y. M. C. A., at 2702 Lawton and the Y. W. C. A., 703 N. Garrison, to receive all appeals from men and women in need of assistance.

The number of persons who were cared for at the Municipal Lodging house during the eight days, only serves to give an idea of the magnitude of the exodus from the east side. Six thousand four hundred and sixty-six persons had passed through its doors up to Tuesday noon. Perhaps as many more never reached the place.

Investigation Now On

The entire country has joined in demanding a thorough investigation of the causes and effects of the riot. The grand jury has been in session during the past week and to date, three indictments have been returned. It is stated, however, that sufficient evidence has been secured to indict many others, who participated in the riot, but their names have not been made public. The Coroner's inquests have been held behind locked doors, against the protests of the leading citizens and it is the concensus of opinion that a thorough and unbiased investigation can not be had unless the United States Government takes a hand. This is attributed to the rotten political conditions in the city, which is the real cause of the laxity of law and order; but the leading citizens of the state and nation are determined to see that the matter will not be "white washed."

East St. Louis

Negroes Urged to Return

The East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, in demanding that the investigation be carried out to the end declares its intention to make the city a safe place for any person to live in.

Three hundred of the best citizens and business men of East St. Louis met in the City Hall, Friday, and adopted resolutions. of which the following are a part:

Resolved, "That steps will immediately be taken for the enforcement of the law and the preservation of life and property, and that assurance be given to all of our law-abiding citizens, irrespective of race or conditions, that in the future they will be absolutely secure in our midst.

"We are at a loss to find language to express our indignation concerning the action of rioters on July 2. Their unwarranted acts stand without a parallel in the history of the country.

"The good people demand that our city be rid of the criminal class, that has recently infested it; that the law be strictly enforced without fear or favor, and that there be no influences in the city that can screen or immune any offender; that law-abiding persons in our city, be they ever so humble, white or black, rich or poor, be absolutely secure in their lives, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness."

Adjutant-General Dickson says: "Every law-abiding man, woman or child, regardless of their race, creed or color, is perfectly safe in East St. Louis, and will have the protection of the military power of the State of Illinois if it takes every dollar and every man in the state to make it so." He says: "There is no reason why every Colored person who wants to return to work and to live in East St. Louis should not do so, with perfect safety and freedom."

Although some of the Negroes seem to be reluctant to return, the general belief is that most of them will go back.

WHITES FIRE NEGRO HOME
JULY 4 1917
NEAR FOR LIFE

Two negroes narrowly escaped with their lives when they jumped from the second-story window of their home, 225 Baugh avenue, at 10:30 o'clock last night after the house had been ignited by unidentified white men.

The negroes, Grant Simms, 50 years old, and John Everett, 45 years old, were asleep when the house was set on fire. They were awakened by the smoke. Escape by the stairs was cut off by flames, which had already enveloped the lower story. No shots were fired.

Fear-Stricken Negroes Leaving East St. Louis Tell of Mad Riot

Y W C CALL
JULY 8, 1917

CHESTER M. WRIGHT FINDS THAT CAUSE OF OUTBREAK IS NATIONAL AS COLORED PEOPLE ARE BROUGHT NORTH—THE DISTURBANCE CAME SUDDENLY.

By CHESTER M. WRIGHT.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 7.—On the train that brought me to this city of charred bones and inflamed humanity was a fellow passenger who told me this:

"I am a railroad employe. My business this summer has been to ship Negroes from the South to the North. I have sent thousands to Cleveland, Ohio. I am now going South for more. I will continue another month in this work. We send them North with railroad fare paid. Other men are doing the same work for other employers."

This man spoke of his work as if he were shipping bricks.

Consequences did not worry him. He was mildly interested in what this city has just gone through. He was after "niggers" and his pay check.

On the same train was a contractor who lives in St. Louis and has construction contracts further North.

Made Negroes Happy.

"I recently sent a load of Negroes North on a job of ours," he said. "I bought three tents for cooking, sleeping and eating, and now they are all happy."

He seemed glad so little made them happy.

These men, and a score more I have talked with here, agree it is entirely reasonable to say that:

Every Northern industrial city that has received recently a large influx of Negroes now has within its gates the germ that started the terrible riots of rage that for two months terrified and finally engulfed this town.

About 12 square blocks are swept of everything that will burn. Twisted iron beds—frequently two in a room, as you can easily see—cheap cook stoves and iron utensils, things that would not burn, are all that is left, except that in many of these little beds of ashes are human bones.

Many Bodies Under Bricks.

Under the pile of bricks that once was an opera house seating 3,000 it is expected from 25 to 50 bodies will be found.

Meanwhile, this is a haunted city for Negroes.

I have been watching an endless procession going out under militia protection—going out with only the clothes on their backs and crude little bundles, filled with who knows what.

Always they are afraid. Seldom have I seen such fear.

"May I take your picture?" I asked a Negress. She jumped in fright.

I pointed a camera at another. Had it been a gun, she would not have been more frightened.

Seldom will they even talk, unless reassured by some one they know.

Over in St. Louis they are caring for hundreds of refugees. The Red Cross got into action at once, white girls from good homes working side by side with negro girls to check up names and care for the destitute.

In the Municipal lodging house a tot cried endlessly: "I want my daddy, I want my daddy."

I asked the mother where "daddy" was. She didn't know, and maybe never will.

Mrs. Lizzie Stedman last saw her husband when a detective—she called him a "protective"—took him away. But at police headquarters they have no trace of him. She sobbed out her grief among dozens of others grief-stricken. "Her man" had worked at the aluminum factory for $4.75 a day, and they had lived here for three years.

Ran Into Soldier's Arms.

Henry Woodruff told me he ran from his home into a soldier's arms, and that's all that saved him.

Prof. Martin Lucas, Negro principal, hid all night in a swamp and escaped across the river. One man swam the river.

For two months there has been trouble smoldering here. More than 5,000 Negroes have come in within half a year. Many times blacks and whites looked for the same job, I am told. Many times the Negro took it cheaper. He was in many cases a country Negro, and the wage he got was big—to him.

Then on July 1 came the big smash, the blaze of human wildness. An auto load of detectives whirled into a Negro street and was met with a volley. Only

two whites escaped. Roy Albertson, reporter, was one of them. It came so quickly he hardly knows what happened.

Didn't Find Bad Criminal Record.

Some told me the Negroes had a bad criminal record, and made the whites determined to run them out. I went to the police record and I found the proportion of crime about alike for white and black.

The last rape of a white girl was November 10. Mostly the charges were disorderly conduct, selling liquor without license, gambling and robbery.

There are stories that Negroes, to revenge the killing of some of their number by whites in May, had armed to massacre whites at a signal, and that the firing of July 1 was due to this plot and this arming.

A dozen investigations are promised, but shrewd ones wag their heads and say no white man ever can be convicted of crime connected with this slaughter of perhaps a hundred people.

SAYS BANK RAISED "SLUSH FUND" FOR TARLTON'S TICKET

H. F. Bader, Former East St. Louis Mayor, Tells of Levee Board Election.

POLICE OFFICIAL REBUKED

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
NOVEMBER 15. 1917

Congressmen Resent Refusal to Tell Why Recent Changes in Department Were Made.

Henry F. Bader, former Mayor and former Postmaster of East St. Louis, testified today before the Congressional Committee, which is investigating the cause of the East St. Louis race riot of July 2. He told of the election of the Levee Board, headed by Locke Tarlton, last fall and said the election of the Tarlton ticket was accomplished by means of a "slush fund" raised by the Illinois State Bank, of which Robert E. Gillespie is president.

He said the Illinois State Bank handled the Levee Board's funds, without paying interest on the Levee bonds, or on the Board's current deposits. He said the bank was interested in keeping Tarlton in office, so that it would cotninue to have the handling of the funds. He said Thomas Gillespie, brother of the bank's president, was the paid attorney for the Board.

"A year ago," Bader testified, "the Levee Board needed $60,000 more than it had available to complete its work, and it appealed to the United States Government and got the money. But if the interest on the Board's funds had been regularly turned into its treasury, it would have had the $60,000 and would not have needed to call on the Government for it." He told of a working political alliance between Tarlton, a Democrat, and Fred Gerold, a Republican.

Police Board Member Criticised.

Fred Giessing, known as "reform" member of the Board of Police Commissioners, was called as a witness, and was asked to tell why the Police Board discharged the old heads of the Police Department, following the reorganization of the department after the riot. He refused to answer the question and was rebuked by Chairman Johnson.

"Here is a man called to a public place in a crisis," said Johnson, "who is unwilling or unable to tell the facts about his officials acts. It seems to me that some more resignations are needed."

Asserts Mollman Helped Aliens to Get Saloon Licenses.

Additional testimony concerning conditions in East St. Louis was given before the Congressional Committee yesterday afternoon by M. R. Bevington, United States Naturalization Commissioner, with headquarters in St. Louis. Similar testimony was given by the Rev. Christopher Goelz, pastor of St. Phillip's Catholic Church.

Father Goelz testified that, when he tried to complain on a street car to State's Attorney Schaumleffel about cock fighting at Woodland Park, Schaumleffel was so drunk he couldn't talk to him. The State's Attorney was then on his way to a prize fight in St. Louis, the clergyman said

Appeal to Schaumleffel "Useless."

"I heard him complaining because the State laws were so 'narrow-minded' that no sports could be held in Illinois," the priest said. "I saw then that it was useless to appeal to him, so I asked a friend what to do. He advised me to see a good newspaper reporter. The reporter exposed the place several times, but no action was taken until Attorney-General Brundage interfered."

Bevington testified that he refused to grant naturalization papers to East St. Louis saloon keepers on the ground that they were habital lawbreakers, in that they violated the Sunday closing law. "For a long time we got no support in the City Court," he said. "Later the Judges often apologized to the applicant for refusing the request. It was refused because the Judge knew that we could prevent the alien being naturalized, even if his court awarded the papers.

Says Mayor Helped Evade Law.

"Early in 1917 Mayor Mollman announced he would comply with the law by refusing saloon licenses to unnaturalized aliens. It was testified in court that Mayor Mollman personally advised Antonio Juchniewicz, an alien, to obtain a license under the name of George Kaufer, the man who owned the saloon building and who had been naturalized.

"The Mayor was playing a political game. He was telling the better class of citizens that he was closing the undesirable saloons and, at the same time, was allowing them to reopen by such subterfuges. For instance, we learned that if the saloonkeeper's name was John Nicholas, the Mayor would issue a new license to him under the name of Nicholas John."

Bevington told of several attempts to get naturalization papers by John Fizel, a subject of Austria, and a saloonkeeper. False affidavits finally were made by Fizel that he was a coal miner, and a bogus bill of sale to Seventh street and Missouri avenue, opposite the Federal Building, and named the Federal Bar.

Reporter on the Stand.

Paul Y. Anderson, a Post-Dispatch reporter, was then placed on the stand to describe the character of the saloon after it moved to Seventh street and Missouri avenue. He said that there were rooms upstairs, and that the saloon was frequented by women. He said robberies occurred there.

Robert E. Johns, business agent of the carpenters' union, who was a member of the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred, formed to reorganize conditions after the riot, said that the committee quit when it had restored conditions so that the big industries would not suffer for lack of laborers. An attempt to organize a home guard was abortive, he said, because the heads of the big industries wanted to know, immediately, whether the proposed regiment could be used in time of strikes.

"The committee did just what I expected it to do—made things safe for the big plants, and then quit," the witness said. "When we came to the question of housing and improving conditions of laboring men, they had nothing more to say."

Names Men "Higher Up."

Johns said that the men "higher up" in politics were Fred Gerold, former City Treasurer; Locke Tarlton, president of the Levee Board, and Thomas Canavan, president of the Board of Local Improvements. "They work hand in hand," he declared.

"Gerold is a Republican— a member of my party, and Tarlton is a Democrat—a member of Chairman Johnson's party," was Congressman Cooper's ironic comment.

The witness described the labor meeting in the city hall the night of May 28, which was followed by a riot. He recalled the speech made by Alexander Flannigen then, and quoted Flannigen as saying: "If a negro doesn't get his furniture into the house, he can't use it. Then, if the house burns down, he can't use the house. A mob knows no law."

Erneute Negerunruhen in East St. Louis.

...LY 2 ... STS ZEITUNG

Sergeant erschossen, drei Polizisten und zwei Bürger verletzt.

East St. Louis, Ill., 2. Juli. Bei heute früh hier wiederum ausgebrochenen Rassenkrawallen ist Detektiv-Sergeant Samuel Coppedge erschossen worden. Drei andere Polizisten und zwei Bürger wurden durch Schüsse verwundet, davon einer der Polizisten lebensgefährlich. Die Angreifenden waren Neger, die sich, wie es heißt, um Rache für angeblich kürzlich erlittene Unbill zu nehmen, zusammengerottet hatten. Nach der Schießerei zerstreute sich der Mob und die Polizei patrouillierte während der ganzen Nacht die Straßen ab. Gouverneur Lowden ist ersucht worden, sechs Kompagnien Miliz nach East St. Louis zu beordern.

Etwa 200 Neger hatten sich, mit Stöcken, Revolvern und Gewehren bewaffnet, zusammengefunden und zogen von einer Kirche aus durch die Straßen. Als das Polizeihauptquartier hiervor benachrichtigt wurde, sandte man Sergeant Coppedge und drei Polizisten in einem Auto ab. Der Sergeant fragte die Neger, was ihre Absicht sei und erhielt den kurzen Bescheid, weiter zu fahren. Als er den Negern eröffnete, er und seine Begleiter seien Polizisten, die darauf zu sehen hätten, daß die Ordnung gewahrt bleibe, fiel eine Salve. Coppedge war auf der Stelle tot, die drei anderen Beamten und zwei in der Nähe stehende Bürger wurden verwundet. Sobald die Bluttat bekannt wurde, beorderte Polizeichef Hickey jeden verfügbaren Polizisten zum Dienst und ersuchte um 200 Mann des hier liegenden 6. Infanterie-Regiments. Ein Kordon wurde um das Negerviertel gezogen und Polizisten und Soldaten durchsuchten in jedem Hause alle Männer und Frauen nach Waffen. Alle gefundenen Feuerwaffen wurden konfisziert und etwa 50 Neger in Haft genommen.

Rassenunruhen brachen hier zuerst am 28. Mai aus, als zwei Weiße durch Neger beraubt wurden und in den nächsten vier Tagen etwa 40 Neger und ein Dutzend Weiße bei Hauereien verletzt wurden. Negerhäuser gingen in Flammen auf und viele Farbige verließen die Stadt. Wirtschaften und Vergnügungsplätze wurden geschlossen und die Behörden versuchten ihr möglichstes, die Ordnung aufrecht zu erhalten. In letzter Linie sollen die Unruhen auf die Importierung von Negern aus dem Süden zurückzuführen sein. Die Polizei bewacht jetzt beide Enden der Brücken und kein Neger darf diese kreuzen, ohne nach Waffen durchsucht zu werden.

PRESIDENT CONSIDERING ACTION IN RACE RIOTS

Takes Up With Attorney General East St. Louis and Chester Killings—Negroes Protest.

WASHINGTON D C STAR
AUGUST 1, 1917

President Wilson now has under consideration with the Attorney General the question of how justice shall be meted out to the race rioters of East St. Louis and Chester, Pa.

This became known today as the result of assurances given a delegation of negroes from New York by Joseph P. Tumulty, secretary to the Presiedent.

The delegation, headed by James Weldon Johnson, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, represented a committee of "the negro silent protest parade," in which 1,500 colored men, women and children took part in New York Saturday.

The members of the delegation said they came to the White House, "representing not only the 'negro silent protest parade,' but 12,000,000 citizens whose devotion and loyalty to the nation have never been questioned, who, when the present storm of war broke over our heads, took their unqualified stand side by side with the original American stocks that landed at Plymouth Rock and at Jamestown."

A copy of a petition to the President and to Congress was presented to the President's secretary which recited that in the last thirty-one years 2,867 colored men and women have been lynched by mobs in the United States without trial, and that less than half a dozen persons out of the tens of thousands involved have received any punishment whatsoever for those crimes, and that not a single one has been punished for murder.

In addition to this, the petition stated, mobs have harried and murdered colored citizens time and time again with impunity, "culminating in the latest atrocity at East St. Louis, where nearly a hundred innocent, hard-working citizens were done to death in broad daylight for seeking to earn an honest living." The petition continued:

"We believe that this spirit of lawlessness is doing untold injury to our country, and we submit that the record proves that the states are either unwilling or unable to put down lynching and mob violence."

The delegation urged that lynching and mob violence be made a national crime, punishable by federal laws, and that this be done by federal enactment, or, if necessary, by an amendment to the Constitution.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

NEGROES LEAVING EAST SAINT LOUIS

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 20. 1917 Argus

New Exodus Due To Feeling Of Unprotection When Militia Quits Ill-Fated Town. Best Citizens Leaving.

Senator Sherman Says "Citizens Are Living On Edge Of Volcano." Insurance Companies Cancelling Risks. Landlords Ask Tenants To Move.

Regardless of the fact that every effort has been made to quiet the unrest among the Negro citizens in East St. Louis, it is undeniably true that the ill fated city is gradually being evacuated. This does not apply only to the recent comers to the place, but to old residents as well. Men who have spent their lives in building up a substantial business, who have accumulated property and have established reputations for thrift and honesty, whose honor is above reproach, are leaving all the fruits of their energy behind and fleeing to other parts. Wagon load after wagon load of household effects are almost continuously crossing the bridges to St. Louis. Others going in different directions, travel to surrounding towns, where housing conditions are already overtaxed and many tents are beginning to appear. The tenement districts of St. Louis are becoming congested and few houses are for rent. There is no estimate of the number of families who have left East St. Louis, but many are of the opinion that within another week only a few will remain.

It was generally thought about a week ago that conditions were settled and the Negroes would return, but since it has been learned that all the troops will be withdrawn on or before the 25th of this month, preparatory to being mustered into the regular army service; and because of repeated statements being circulated that so soon as the soldiers are gone the Negroes would again be attacked by the mob, a new exodus has been started by those who were inclined to stay. They state that their homes have been invaded by the police and military forces and their arms taken and they are thus left at the mercy of the mob without self protection.

To date, twelve indictments have been returned against 6 white and 6 Colored. In the evidence being submitted, charges and cross charges are being made by the police and militia against each other, but there seems to be a general inclination, by all, to fasten the blame on the Negro and relieve the city of financial responsibility.

Insurance Companies Cancelling Risks

Reliable information has reached the Argus that fire insurance agents in East St. Louis are cancelling risks on property occupied by Negroes and will not carry the responsibility after the militia departs. It is rumored that landlords are requesting their tenants to move and that certain time payment furniture houses are offering to take back partially paid for furniture and refund amount advanced.

CITY COUNCIL BLOCKS PLAN TO REMOVE POLICE BOARD

At a meeting of the City Council of East St. Louis yesterday the Board of Aldermen rejected the plan of Mayor Mollman and a committee of citizens to appoint a new Police Board. Mayor Mollman said that if he were to appoint a new Police Board the Council would refuse to confirm his appointment. This permanently disposes of the attempt of the citizens to change the board, it is said.

[illegible] GA HERALD
[illegible] 2. 1917

Learning the "Negro Problem" at Closer Range.

Different sections of the country have been involved in the deplorable race riots occurring within the past few months, and no section seems to be exempt from the calamities which come from the indescriminate mixing of the races in a locality.

The people of the South cannot but feel sympathy for the people of the Northeast, and West, who are now experiencing a new situation through the influx of large numbers of negroes as well as sympathy for the negroes themselves.

The Chronicle has been one of the papers that has not condoned lynching in any sections of the world, or on any occasion, believing that law and order and observance of the statutes is the surest way to preserve government, and to procure justice. But in the meantime it must be admitted that The Chronicle and the people of this section understand the predicament into which the different localities involved in racial disturbances have been placed.

It is the same old story that is applicable to any and all sections when "chickens come home to roost."

New York City itself has been the scene of riots; Detroit has figured conspicuously in this connection; while East St. Louis, Ill., has furnished probably the most sensational stories of this character, and in Chester, Pa., the situation has become particularly deplorable, according to the press reports.

Almost all the ghastly crimes incident to outbreaks have been recorded in different instances, and in the case of Chester, Pa., the newspaper reports declare that "negroes were attacked on all sides. Women and children were set upon, and as the colored women fought back, the white men were reinforced by their own women and sex proved no restraint on the feeling that was engendered."

These calamities are the result of misunderstanding and of misapplication of the proper relationship which should exist between the two races. It is only through years of acquaintance and association with the characteristics of the colored race that the logical solution and peaceful settlement of the situation presented can be consummated.

In the meantime, the people of the North are in a fair way to have some of their cherished theories about the "negro problem" knocked out of them [illegible] Those who have come South and remained for any length of time have learned something about this problem already, while those who remain in the North are having the lesson carried home to them.

[illegible] ed by the lack of reasonable regula- [illegible] in its immediate vicinity. All Au- [illegible] campment the greatest possible suc- [illegible] to hold it as long as we would like.

The negro, also, is learning a few things; one of these, and the most important being, that he is better off in the South, among the people with whom he was reared and who understand him than he is anywhere else on earth. While the treatment of the negro in the South has not been, here and there, all that it should be, he has, on the whole, a better opportunity to work out his destiny here—along proper lines—than he will find elsewhere.

MORE RACE RIOTING IN EAST ST. LOUIS; SIX MEN ARE SHOT

Three of the Men White and Three Black—Whites Seem Resolved to Chase Negroes From Illinois City.

Constitution

ILLINOIS GUARDSMEN PATROLLING STREET

5-30-17

Six Men of Missouri Guard Regiment Arrested for Inciting to Riot—All Citizens Warned to Stay at Home After Nightfall.

East St. Louis, Ill., May 29.—Three negroes were shot, one probably fatally, and three white men were wounded when the race riots broke out afresh here tonight. Groups of white men continued to form in the streets, but for the most part the police and soldiers on patrol duty have succeeded in disbanding them peaceably. One of the negroes shot tonight was on his way to work when he was accosted by a white man, who demanded to know his destination. The negro refused to answer and the white man shot him. A crowd gathered quickly, but police dispersed it by using their clubs freely.

A few minutes later another negro was made a victim of a mob of whites when it was learned he had declared the blacks would "put up a fight" if trouble broke out tonight. The mob chased him for several blocks before he was halted by a pistol shot. His wound is not serious. Police guards dispersed that mob without great difficulty.

Six men of the first regiment national guard of Missouri were arrested charged with inciting to riot.

A negro carrying a sack containing eight revolvers and several rounds of ammunition was arrested on the Illinois approach of Eads bridge. He had come from St. Louis, Mo.

Three White Men Shot.

Thomas Ritchie, a private watchman for the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, was patroling the tracks when he saw a negro approaching with a shotgun. Ritchie challenged the negro, who fired, wounding Ritchie in the shoulder. At St. Mary's hospital two white men were taken in a serious condition as a result of gunshot wounds. Their identity has not been established. They were unarmed.

At 11 o'clock Colonel C. E. Clayton, who is in command of six companies of militia on guard here, declared he expected little more trouble tonight. Colonel Clayton stationed his men, each armed with a rifle with 90 rounds of ammunition, 100 feet apart in the sections where trouble was feared. Orders were issued to let no one pass into the "restricted zones" without being challenged. Three engine companies of fire departments responded to an alarm on North Third street, heavily settled by negroes, and were met with a volley of shot when they arrived, but none was hit. Several other false alarms were turned in.

Mayor Mollman ordered all saloons and public places closed at 6 o'clock tonight, and an additional warning was given to all citizens to remain within their homes after dark.

Tried to Burn Negro District.

Later the rioters attempted to destroy a portion of the negro district by fire. Three houses were razed before the blaze could be checked.

Despite efforts of national guardsmen, small groups of white men persisted in forming and the mere presence of a negro on the street was the signal for violence. Police estimate that at least 1,500 negroes have been driven from the city since the rioting began Monday night.

Scores of negroes were arrested when arms were found in their possession as they attempted to return from St Louis. One of the negroes arrested carried a bomb, according to the police. The national guardsmen arrested charged with inciting riot were released late tonight.

At midnight the police and military officers declared the situation was well in hand and no further trouble was expected.

SHOULD BE PUNISHED.

As the story of the rioting in East Saint Louis develops, we find a condition which would discredit an invading army of barbarians. We have been shocked at Turkish atrocities

Buffalo News 7/14

Bulgarian atrocities, Russian pogroms German atrocities in Belgium and France. Well, here we have American atrocities without shadow of excuse, an American pogrom. 7/14/17

The worst of it is that it appears not to be a sudden convulsion of those dark forces which still exist in the sub-conscious life of peoples. The riot was the culmination, the natural result, of conditions deliberately created or permitted to exist for a considerable time. Vicious politics, corruption of the ballot, vice graft, weak police control, insolence and law defiance, by blacks and whites, suspicion, hatred and fear on both sides finally exploded in the disgraceful outbreak of the last few days.

The riot was a direct and inevitable result of unscrupulous political manipulation. It was made possible by a low order of political nd social intelligence in the comunity. The decent people of East int Louis were betrayed by the ements of political and business exitation.

The insolence and violence encouraged in a low class of negroes by politicians who used them for their own purposes have now been repaid many fold by the cruelty and violence of low class whites. The murder of harmless old men, the beating of innocent women and girls, the burning of houses and goods, make a record which covers East Saint Louis with dishonor and Illinois with shame.

The governor's determination to probe this event to its sources and to punish whatever responsible individuals can be found will have the earnest support of the public. The local officials, politicians and agitators responsible for the growth of the conditions which came to their climax in this riot should be exposed, and, if possible, punished severely. The very ineffective handling of police and militia should be examined and incompetent officials or officers should be unhesitatingly removed. The country will not stand for a whitewash.

RACE RIOT CONDEMNED BY ST. JOSEPH NEGROES

ST JOSEPH MO GAZETTE
JULY 9, 1917

Resolutions Also Adopted Supporting Roosevelt in Controversy With Gompers

Resolutions condemning "the slaughter of helpless and defenseless negroes" in the East St. Louis race riots and calling on the president and congress for a full investigation of the affair, and other resolutions taking sides with Roosevelt in his controversy with Gompers and designating him "as the greatest man born in America since Abraham Lincoln, who would have emancipated the slaves if Lincoln hadn't," and declaring that the negroes of northwest Missouri would never rest until they saw him again elected president of the United States, were passed at a meeting of St. Joseph negroes yesterday afternoon at the Francis Street Baptist church.

The church was packed, and at the close of an address by Dr. J. R. A. Crossland, proposing these resolutions, the audience, forgetting its Sabbath calm, cheered for five minutes.

The meeting was presided over by I. F. Ramsey, president of the Negro Business Men's league, and addresses were made by Crossland, Ramsey, Dr. W. S. Carrion, Rev. G. L. Prince, Rev. J. L. Lasley, Rev. H. Willis, and a number of women.

Dr. Crossland declared that there was no alarm to be felt by the negroes here, as this was the best city in the country as regards the tolerance and consideration shown by the whites.

WHITE BOSTON ASSOCIATED CLUB ASKS PRESIDENT TO ACT.

Guardian 7/7/17

The Associated Clubs of Greater Boston, of which Max Henry Newman is chairman, has wired a resolution to President Wilson protesting against the Negro massacre in East St. Louis.

"We pray and hope," reads the resolution, "that executive action be taken to prevent any more such outrages in this country and we ask that all those guilty of this most brutal crime against humanity be punished."

Col. Roosevelt Flays Gompers For Defending Race Rioters

BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE
JULY 7, 1917

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, threw a great meeting in Carnegie Hall, held to welcome the members of the Russian mission, into uproar last night by becoming involved in a controversy over the East St. Louis race riots.

While it lasted it was peppery and acrimonious. The Colonel was fighting mad at the attitude of Mr. Gompers, which struck the Colonel as in the nature of an apology for what occurred at East St. Louis. He worked himself up to such a pitch that he strode over to the spot where the head of the American Federation of Labor was seated and shook his fist under the Gompers nose with all the vigor of old. Mayor Mitchel saved the day by turning the meeting back into its set channel just when it looked as if the two might come into more serious contact, but the Colonel still boiled when the meeting ended, and exclaimed:

"I wish I could get my hands on him! I can scarcely keep my hands off him!" Indeed he seemed anxious to go back from the Fifty-sixth street entrance looking for Mr. Gompers, but Theodore Rousseau, the Mayor's secretary, and others dissuaded him.

The Colonel unsparingly denounced those who had participated in the riots. He said that what had occured in the West was plain murder and nothing else, and that before we undertook to pluck the mote from the eye of a neighbor we must pluck the beam from our own eye.

"If we are to greet free Russia we must greet her with clean hands!" he cried.

Applause and hisses greeted the Colonel's remarks. At first there was no doubt that the crowd was with the Colonel, but later it was rather difficult to determine whether the hisses were directed at Gompers or at something the Colonel had said.

Colonel Roosevelt was the first to refer to the race riots. He referred to the "appalling brutality" of the East St. Louis affair.

"It behooves us to express our deep condemnation," said he, "of those acts that give the lie to our words." He then called on the government to "put a stop to murder first."

Mr. Gompers, following, exploded the powder magazine with the following words:

"I wish I had brought with me a telegram I received this evening from the secretary of the Federation of Labor in Illinois explaining the whole matter. It was not only the labor men in East St. Louis, but a member of the Chamber of Commerce there as well, who warned those who were bringing the colored men from the South that they were to be brought there to undermine the white workers. Yet thousands were brought in and had not a place where to lay their heads. The whole thing was an exercise of tyrannic power like that which existed in old Russia. There is altogether too much injustice prevailing in free America, but there is a larger percentage of freeedom and justice than in any other country."

At first the Colonel seemed to regard the words of Mr. Gompers as innocuous enough, but as the labor leader proceeded with his "explanation" the Colonel became more and more wrought up and, leaping to his feet, asked permission to say one word more. His words issued from him then like molten lava from a volcano.

"I am not willing," he said, biting off his words sharp, "that a meeting called to commemorate the birth of a democracy in Russia shall even seem to have given any approval or accepted any apology for the brutal infamy imposed on negroes, on colored men.

"Justice is not merely words. It is to be translated into living acts, and how can we praise the people of Russia if we by explanation, silence or evasion apologize for murdering the helpless. In the past I have listened to the same form of excuse from the Russian autocracy for the Jewish pogroms."

BEAUMONT TEX ENTERPRISE
OCTOBER 14, 1917

CONVICTING RIOTERS.

Two white men have been found guilty of murder as a result of the East St. Louis race riots several weeks ago. Each of them must serve fourteen years in the penitentiary. Ten negroes already had been found guilty on similar charges and had received similar sentences. It is well.

The two white men probably thought that as a riot was out, lawlessness ruled and they could do anything they chose to do. They have learned their mistake. Now they must pay the penalty.

This should serve as an example to others who take advantage of mob law with the expectation of escaping punishment. It is to be regretted that such punishment has not been meted out to others who have committed crimes in times like that which existed at East St. Louis.

The white citizens of East St. Louis may have had some provocation for the things they did, but they did not have enough provocation to justify murder. And it was murder when men who had done no wrong were shot down in the streets or hanged to telephone poles. It matters not whether they were white or black. Murder is murder. And murderers should be punished.

The two men convicted and sentenced to serve a long term in the penitentiary really should have been given more severe punishment. Life terms or capital punishment could have been assessed without hurting the conscience of the jury, we think. Such penalties as that would have better served as an example to others who might be tempted to slay when mob law runs rampant.

Nevertheless, we are glad that some suitable punishment has been visited upon two of the rioters and we trust that other convictions will follow rapidly and that the punishment will be fully as severe.

Some have said that the riots were started by German agents and that false reports were circulated among both races, each being led to believe that the other was planning wholesale slaughter. That may be true. But any person, white or black, who would be deceived by the blundering agents of the kaiser, deserves a long penitentiary term for foolishness if for nothing else.

This is the worst time that could be picked for rioting or lawlessness and the sooner we put down the iron heel on such internal disturbances the better it will be for our country.

GOMPERS SCORES COLONEL.

N Y C [illegible]
JULY 8, 1917

Says Attack Came Because He Didn't Back Hughes.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, declared in an interview yesterday that his controversy with Col. Theodore Roosevelt at Carnegie Hall Friday night over the race riots in East St. Louis had been "provoked the Colonel" and that the Colonel's "tirade was wholly unwarranted."

"This whole trouble with the Colonel," said Mr. Gompers, "is an aftermath of the campaign last fall. Mr. Roosevelt is sore because I did not support Mr. Hughes for President. He sent for me to come to Oyster Bay at a time when I could not go, and a little later George W. Perkins sent me a statement saying Col. Roosevelt wanted me to sign it. But it was of such nature that I could not conscientiously sign it and from that time on the Colonel has been angry. He has a habit of being angry when disappointed."

N Y C EVE SUN
JULY 19, 1917

Condemn East St. Louis Riots.

BOSTON, July 19. The celebration of the fifty-fourth anniversary of the defence of Fort Wagner here was the occasion for the passage of a resolution condemning the recent riots at East St. Louis, Ill., and calling upon the Government to prevent a recurrence of them.

Riots—1917

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
AUGUST 16. 1917

AN EFFICIENT GRAND JURY.

If the East St. Louis race riots were marked by a ferocity almost unexampled in the records of American social and industrial disorders they have been followed by measures for vindicating the law which will long have a place in our jurisprudence.

The grand jury, on which was reposed the duty of initiating the first steps for upholding the good name of the commonwealth of Illinois, has surpassed public expectation. It has shown adequacy to the exceptional responsibility intrusted to it, not only through vigorous, courageous words, but through vigorous, courageous deeds.

It has not hesitated to assign these disturbances to their proper place of infamy and disgrace among depredations on a large scale. It has brought in dictments charging arson, conspiracy and pla murder against 82 white persons, two of who are women, and 23 negroes.

Proceeding intelligently and systematically to ascertain and correlate the facts in the confused mass of data bearing on the acts of this criminal community uprising, the jury has been enabled to give a clear and comprehensive view of what happened and of causes and accountability. A feature of the report is the expressed conclusion that a "wicked and malicious plot was formed to bring on the riot" under such conditions as would seem to throw on the negroes the odium of being the aggressors.

The part employers played in "abusing," as it is called, a delicate situation for their own advantage is called sharply to attention. Particularly gratifying is the portion of the report stigmatizing the cowardly inaction and culpable complicity of the police and other municipal authorities.

The gratitude of Illinois and of the divisions of the St. Louis industrial district on both sides of the river has been earned by the jury, by Circuit Judge G. A. Crow, under whose direction it accomplished its work, and by Attorney-General E. F. Brundage.

If further steps in the discharge of the State's duty in this grave matter are taken with equal energy and effectiveness, an end is close at hand in the long reign of lawlessness in St. Louis' eastern suburbs, of which the riots were a climax and logical result.

With such a visitation of stern justice as will restore the prevalence of the law, it will be a long time before any other Illinois community will dare to exemplify in acts of brutality its prejudice for an unfortunate race. A warning will be given whose effects will be felt throughout the country.

Independent Opinions

Independent 9-29-17

The following message was adopted by the Washington Street Congregational Church of Toledo, Ohio, Sunday morning, July 8, sent to all the negro churches of the city and, thru them, to 8000 negroes in Toledo:

To our Negro Brethren in Toledo:

In view of the recent "race riots" in East St. Louis, Illinois, we can well understand the discouragement and depression of spirit which have come to thoughtful Christian black people in the United States. We can realize that for them, as for us, the problems of living together under the same Government are not yet settled and that the utmost charity, patience and coöperation are still necessary.

To our brethren of the negro race in Toledo we send a word of good cheer! Their race has made splendid progress since slavery days. We believe they will take heart, even in the face of the present discouragement, and move forward to still finer things in education, character and efficiency. We believe they will thus rebuke their critics and lift up those among them who are cast down!

We send this message in no spirit of self-satisfaction, for without trying to assign the final blame for the tragedy at East St. Louis we realize that white men as well as black men must bear part of the responsibility and shame. Race riots are not one-sided evidences of defect and degeneracy in men and in social institutions! In the difficult task of readjustment and of uplift we pledge our sympathy, coöperation and service.

ERNEST BOURNER ALLEN, MINISTER
Toledo, Ohio

Thru membership in a local C. L. S. C., I have read The Independent carefully for two years, usually with much pleasure and profit. But your attitude toward the South on the negro question is uniformly unfair, just as is the attitude of many other Northern papers. If the race riots of July 1 to 3 had occurred in St. Louis, Missouri, they would have been the theme of many a Northern editorial, and offered a fine text for enlarging upon the lack of safety for the negro in the South. But they occurred in the Illinois town of East St. Louis. In speaking of this race war, The Independent brings in present labor conditions, and says the trouble was "due to economic jealousy rather than race hatred."

MAY BASKERVILLE KENT
Dublin, Virginia

We are surprized to find that one of our readers believes The Independent to condone mob murders in the North. We have always denounced in the strongest terms Northern as well as Southern lynchings. It is true we mentioned the local labor situation in East St. Louis, because all accounts agree that it was an important factor in the riots, but certainly with no idea of palliating crime. It is as wicked to kill a man because he works to support his family as to kill him because you don't like his race.

East St. Louis.

We quote with our fullest approval the following extract from a sermon delivered on the occasion of the East St. Louis massacre by the Reverend James W. Lee, of St. Louis:

There never was an anarchist among the negroes. They believe in observing the law, and yet anarchists like Emma Goldman can stir up sedition, urge insurrection against the Government, and go practically unmolested, while the poor negroes in East St. Louis, for no other crime than that they wanted work, were pounced upon, many of them beaten to death, their houses burned, and they themselves driven from their homes by hyenas and tigers in human form.

My father was a slaveholder. I was brought up on a plantation near Atlanta, Georgia. When my father joined the Confederate army he left my mother and his children on the plantation with no other protection than such as the negroes could give. This was true with the families of slaveholders all over the South. And yet, while the soldiers of the Northern armies were fighting to free the negroes, and the negroes knew it, there has never been a case reported where the negroes failed to be loyal and true to the families of Southern soldiers.

In view of all this, it must be clear that what we need in the United States today is a new civilization, in which there must be the silent reassertion of the principle of authority, of an authority purged and purified by the rejection of all unworthy elements, an authority based on the reality and sacredness of life, that we have more or less lost in the past fifty years.

St. Louis

A Southern reader charges us with prejudice against his section of the country.

I herewith hand you two clippings taken from The Independent. When the first came out I preserved it for the express purpose of comparing it with your comment on the East St. Louis affair.

In one instance, one man was killed, wrongfully, and in your comment you saw fit to fasten the crime upon "The best citizens of a Southern state."

In the other case between 20 and 300 were slain. This you discovered was by the "white men of the city slums." I wish the author of these two articles would calmly and dispassionately search his own conscience and soul, and undertake to discover what motive prompted him to use the pages of a great magazine to so discriminate in his treatment of crime, when committed in different sections of this country. If he will be but honest with himself, no further comment will be necessary on the part of readers.

M. C. EDWARDS
Dawson, Georgia

The Independent condemned both crimes equally. The reference to the "best citizens" of Memphis who participated in the lynching there was in quotation marks and, of course, sarcastic. There were, indeed, according to the newspaper accounts of the time, some *prominent* citizens involved in the affair; but The Independent well knows that the true "best citizens," both North and South, are those who in any rank of life stand for law and justice and that in every part of the nation these are in the majority.

I want to remind you that a short time before the declaration of war, when Woodrow Wilson stated that the United States must get ready to "put down revolution here and abroad," or words to that effect, you protested emphatically that revolution was an American right and something she should not deny to other countries. Now you have completely changed front.

EMMA R. SINGER
Middletown, California

The Independent is as far as ever from any denial of the "right of revolution." We do not think, however, that a country like the United States, which is based upon the voted will of the people, needs any other kind of revolution than such as may be brought about by the orderly and legal process of legislative reform.

INQUIRY SEEKS CAUSES OF EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS

ACTIONS OF THE POLICE AND OF THE MILITIA.

Testimony Before Congressional Committee Shows Municipal Misrule Was Important Factor in Situation.

OCTOBER 25, 1917

[Special Correspondence of The Evening Post.]

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., October 20.—Among those who are following the investigations of the Congressional committee which is holding hearings in East St. Louis in regard to the race riots, which took place in that city in July, are representatives of the two leading negro welfare organizations in the country—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes.

Immediately after the riots, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent representatives to East St. Louis to make investigations. The material gathered by these investigators, much of which escaped the St. Louis newspapers, was published in part in the *Crisis*, the official magazine of the Association, and, together with other information, has been laid before the inquiry committee.

While the violation of interstate laws is the primary concern of the committee, it will seek to discover what elements of persistent lawlessness existed to bring about a state of affairs which could produce the riots. The committee is composed of Representatives Ben Johnson, of Kentucky; Henry A. Cooper, of Wisconsin; George A. Foss, of Illinois; John E. Raker, of California, and Martin D. Foster, of Illinois.

That under efficient municipal administration the riot would have been quelled at once, if indeed it had ever been allowed to start, is evidenced by all testimony. The population of East St. Louis is 75,000.

At the time of the riots, she maintained, or was maintained by, 376 saloons. Over thirty of these establishments have been closed since.

A large factor, if not the determining factor, in local politics is the negro vote.

ATTITUDE OF THE POLICE.

The police force of East St. Louis consists of over forty men. The morning of July 2, after the killing of two policemen on the night of July 1 by shots from negro houses in the district where houses had been fired into by white "joy riders" earlier in the evening, only fifteen policemen reported for duty. During the rioting, policemen were seen to arrest white men who were attacking negroes, take them around the corner and release them. They also released white men arrested by soldiers.

These same policemen broke the cameras of newspaper photographers and took away their plates. Some of these plates were gotten away by reporters and camera men, but hundreds of others were destroyed by the preservers of law and order in East St. Louis. The police stated that they had received such orders from the Mayor's office.

A coroner's inquest held a few days later, in connection with the rioting, was held secretly.

In East St. Louis the police have the power of arbitrarily distributing the police cases. Since the justices receive fees only according to the cases which they try, the judges who were not friends of the Administration found themselves in a bad way.

East St. Louis is apparently not interested in being made the subject of a Congressional investigation. The Federal courtroom, in the Metropolitan Building, where the testimony is being heard, would seat three hundred people. At no time during the investigation has it been called on to accommodate more than a dozen.

A STORY OF BRUTALITY.

Paul Y. Anderson, a reporter of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, who personally witnessed most of the rioting, has appeared before the Congressional Committee, as well as before other investigating bodies. Mr. Anderson said three members of a family were on a street car returning from Alton, Ill., where they had been on a fishing trip to their home in St. Louis. In the middle of the city of East St. Louis the car was stopped and the white people ordered out. White men came on board and dragged her husband out. He was shot on the car step. They returned for her son. She pleaded for his life, but was disregarded. A moment later she was dragged from the car by white men and women, beaten with clubs, and stoned. White women in the mob tore her hair out by the roots. When she regained consciousness, she was in an ambulance, lying across three other negro bodies. Wiping the blood from her eyes, she turned to find that one of the bodies was that of her son.

In speaking of the tragedy, Representative Cooper, of Wisconsin, said, "Indians could do no worse."

One interesting point was raised by the committee in determining what part alcoholic beverages played in brutalizing the mob. No witness has testified that unusual drinking took place in East St. Louis on the days of July 1 and 2. Indeed, saloons were ordered closed shortly after noon on July 2. As one member of the committee grimly put it, they went at it sober."

What part did the militia play in the occurrences?

This is a question in which the committee is profoundly interested. One witness testified that he saw members of the militia, in uniform, stand by, unprotesting, while negroes were beaten by the mob.

WHAT ONE MAN SAW.

The head of a large chemical concern, which employs few negroes, was in his storage house at the time of the riots. He relates having heard a voice in the mob cry out, "His place will make a good fire!" Another voice replied, "Aw, let him alone. He don't hire no niggers"

The chairman of the committee asked this man if he saw any soldiers near his place at any time during the rioting.

"One," the witness replied.

"What was he doing?" asked Mr. Johnson.

The manufacturer looked ashamed. "Shooting niggers," he replied.

The committee asked for the story in detail, and the manufacturer told it.

"A group of negroes was standing by, quite peaceably," he said, "when a soldier, in uniform, came out a near-by door. The crowd was all around. Some called out, taunting him, 'You can't shoot!' 'Oh, can't I?' replied the soldier, only in stronger language. With that he raised his rifle to his shoulder and shot into the crowd of negroes. One of them fell. I did not know if he was dead. A second after, my place was on fire. I saw no more. Every one had all he could do to look after himself and not get shot."

The National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, which assisted Detroit in handling her last year's doubled colored population, stands ready to help East St. Louis in her reconstruction. Over three hundred negro homes were destroyed in the fires started by the rioters, and many negro citizens of the city are temporarily inhabitants of St. Louis. While many of those who left East St. Louis will never return, others of them will do so.

Sums of money have been volunteered for the organization in East St. Louis of a branch of the Urban League, which, when organized, will work with the St. Louis branch.

Such an organization will prove particularly helpful in the present time of social confusion. Employment agencies, lodging houses, and provision of places of clean, decent amusement, are some of the aids by which the League hopes to help in the prevention of crime and in the building up of a respectable and self-respecting citizenry among the negroes in crowded cities.

NORTH DOESN'T KNOW NEGROES

WASHINGTON [illegible] NEWS
AUGUST 22, 1917

Social Equality Not Desired by That Race in Southern States —Cause of Riots in East St. Louis Analyzed

Special to The Christian Science Monitor from its Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Representative Pat Harrison of Mississippi, a member of the House Rules Committee, which recently held a series of hearings relative to the East St. Louis race riots, and a man who has made a life-long study of the Negro problem, both from the standpoint of the North and the South, declares that in his opinion the recent riots were caused mainly by the employment of Negroes instead of white men in the factories of East St. Louis, and that the offenders in the riot did not vent their anger upon the Negro as an individual but as a race. He points out the fact that as a result of years of close contact the people of the South have become accustomed to the Negro, his customs and habits, and that there he has been placed in his proper social stratum, with which, although beneath the station of the whites, he is nevertheless satisfied. In a special interview to The Christian Science Monitor Mr. Harrison says:

"The northern people are unaccustomed to the habits and character of the southern Negro. In the North there are so few Negroes that the question of their proper treatment has been of little concern. There are many people in the North who never saw a Negro and there are many entire counties in the North where a Negro has never resided. On the other hand, in the south the Negro has ever been with us and there are many counties in the South where the Negroes outnumber the whites eight to one.

"In the South the Negro is content to worship in his own church, to attend his own amusement places, to eat in his own restaurants, to sleep in his own hotels and to ride in separate compartments on the street cars and trains. His every trait, habit and custom is understood by the white people of the South. That understanding is the result of evolution of years of close association and contact.

"The southern Negro respects the white people, concedes the higher intellectual and social sphere of the white race and thoroughly realizes that his happiness, peace and welfare depend upon the control of the Government by the white people. The southern Negro does not desire social equality and he recognizes the fact that it cannot be had.

"The white people of the South are as zealous of the happiness and welfare of the Negro as they are of their own. This is seen in a hundred different ways. While he pays practically no taxes, he is educated by the states, taken care of by the eleemosynary institutions, and when he commits crime the justice of the law appoints competent counsel to defend him, if he is unable to employ counsel.

"If the white people of Chester, Pa., and East St. Louis, Ill., had understood the Negro as does the South we would not have read of those reports where, as some reports state, at East St. Louis 500 Negroes were murdered.

"The immigration of Negroes into East St. Louis and other northern industrial centers so moved the laboring classes in those centers that they for the first time saw the importance of the Negro problem.

"I have no doubt that the prime cause of the race riot in East St. Louis was the employment of Negroes instead of white men in the factories of that city, and the first difficulty so aroused and incensed the feelings of the white people that they did not confine their feelings against the Negro to the offending individual, but vented their spleen against the Negro as a race. It was a sad commentary on law and order the way white people acted in East St. Louis—so incensed were they and so bitter was their feeling against the race that innocent men, women and children were injured and murdered, homes were burned and property destroyed."

The investigation revealed that hideous offenses were perpetrated by the mob, Mr. Harrison said. He continued:

"It cannot be said that this riot was encouraged wholly by the white hoodlums of East St. Louis, because the police force joined in the movement and helped carry out the murderous plans of the instigators of the uprising before it was quelled.

"Teach the Negro his right place in social and political life; guarantee to him equality and justice before the law; encourage and assist him in industrial and educational development and then his interests in the general welfare of the nation will be best subserved."

LOUISVILLE, KY., TIMES
JULY 27, 1917

BETTER IN THE SOUTH.

The riots at East St. Louis in which many negroes were murdered and beaten, followed so closely by the outrage at Chester, Pa., must go far to prove to the negroes in general that the South is the best place for them. The South has been excoriated by the Northern and Eastern newspapers time and again on account of negro lynchings, certain Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio papers leading the van, with the Chicago Tribune as a rear guard of no mean capacity, covering its "beat" with vilification and overstatement galore. These newspapers apparently make little account of the outrages against innocent negroes in the North; which attitude is little to their credit.

When the fair-minded man casts back over the mob murders of negroes in the South he is moved at least to consider the facts that the negroes—some negro, at least—always gives good and sufficient reason for the awakening of feeling. Crime of various sort must occur ere the white Southerner is inflamed to mob rule and murder. The Atlanta murders followed upon a wave of rape and murder by negroes. Murder, rape or incendiary talk by negroes may be advanced as the basic reason, at least, for all violence towards negroes in the South.

With these Northern outrages, however, it is different. In these cases, particularly in East St. Louis, the negroes merely were not wanted. Thousands of them had been transplanted to surroundings which they themselves did not understand and wher their needs and nature were not understood. So far as the mob fallacy is concerned, we find human nature much the same in various localities; the only difference between the cases under discussion being the light-minded ease with which the hoodlums of the North grasped the notion and put it into execution.

The Times regrets that the Northern communities which have been stained by the blood of defenseless negroes should have this disgrace to bear. It has no wish to crow or point the finger of scorn, but it has the wish to see the Northern newspapers keep the touch of their scornful fingers off the South when she suffers this sort of disgrace, or give full and free publicity to; and pour out the vials of their rancor upon the perpetrators of crimes against the negro in the North.

Riots—1917

MRS. BARNETT VISITS SCENE OF MASSACRE

The Guardian, 7/14/17

MRS. BARNETT VISITS SCENE OF MASSACRE. ANTI-LYNCHING PIONEER GOES DIRECT TO E. ST. LOUIS, MET AND INVESTIGATES LABOR UNION ATTACKS ON COLORED WORKERS—RETURNS AND TELLS RACE OF CRUEL ACTION OF WHITES—PRES. FELLOWSHIP LEAGUE.

Chicago, Ill., July 9.—Colored Chicago came out whole-heartedly for agitation last Monday night at a mass meeting to protest against the E. St. Louis outrage. The meeting took place at the Bethel A. M. E. church, Rev. Dr. Cooke, pastor, the spacious vestry being taxed to its full capacity. A forerunner to the protest meeting was held Sunday at the rooms of the Negro Fellowship League of which Mrs. Ida B. Barnett, is president. Resolutions adopted there scoring the indifference of the civic and military authorities, were also agreed upon as the sentiment of this occasion.

Mrs. Barnett Gives Facts From Personal Observation.

Prof. Richard T. Greener presided, the occasion bringing to him memories of his earlier days when Boston was a veritable hotbed of agitation against slavery. Mrs. Ida B. Wells Barnett has visited the scene of the slaughter and her address contained a mass facts—the fruits of her personal investigation for which, in reality, those present had assembled to lister to.

The speaker deplored the lack of cooperation on the part of the representative Colored men. Messrs. Lucas and R. R. Jackson, the race members of the Illinois general assembly were not present and it was intimated they were not in sympathy with the meeting.

People See Need of Agitation.

Mrs. Burnett's recital of the heart-aching scenes she witnessed—the charred bones among burnt ruins, the bruised and scarred survivors, the wrecked and Plundered homes—were scarcely more attentively listened to than her impassioned appeal to the manhood of the race to cry out against the heinous crimes perpetrated upon the race.

Committee to go to State Capitol.

FormerState Attorney and Mrs. F. L. Barnett, Rev. Dr. Cooke and Prof. R. T. Greener were chosen among a committee of seven to go to the capitol at Springfield and voice the sentiment of the Colored people of the Windy City.

ROSS WELCOME HALTED AS T. R.

FLAYS GOMPERS

East St. Louis

Labor Chief's Views on East St. Louis Riots Rouse Colonel's Wrath.

INTERRUPTED BY HISSES

Carnegie Hall Meeting in Honor of Muscovite Visitors Thrown Into Uproar.

[illegible]

JULY 7, 1917

A sizzling controversy between Col Roosevelt and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, swept a great meeting in Carnegie Hall last night far from its stated purpose, which was to welcome and applaud the members of the Russian war mission who came to New York in the afternoon.

The Colonel was angered to the point of fury by an assertion by Mr. Gompers that the race riots in East St. Louis were caused by the importation of Southern negroes to compete with white labor in defiance of warning from labor leaders and the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce.

After the meeting Col. Roosevelt appeared eager to meet Mr. Gompers and continue the controversy.

"I just wish I could get my hands on him! I can scarcely keep my hands off him!" the Colonel exclaimed as Inspectors Myers and Dillon escorted him to his waiting car. For a moment it seemed he would go back to look for Mr. Gompers, but Theodore Rousseau and other friends prevailed upon him to drive away. Mr. Gompers, although cooler than the Colonel, was also evidently much upset. He came out of the hall with Hugh Frayne and Timothy Healy.

Mr. Roosevelt had spoken before Mr. Gompers, but took the platform again when the federation president finished. Pounding the desk, striding back and forth, marching over to Mr. Gompers and shaking a fist in his face, he declared that never would he sit silent in the presence of a man who "offered an apology for the murder of the helpless." At first the Colonel was wildly applauded. Most of the men and women in the crowded hall jumped to their feet and yelled "Good! Good! Good!"

Interrupted by Hisses.

As he went on, ringing the changes on his denunciation of Mr. Gompers, who like himself a moment before occupied a front row seat on the stage amid a distinguished company, including the entire Russian commission and the chairman, Mayor Mitchel, booing and hissing interrupted him and the place was a babel of indistinguishable sounds.

Whether most of the shrieks of disapproval were directed at Col. Roosevelt or the labor leader was impossible to tell. Apparently some of the hullabaloo was meant for both. Through it all, however, ran a strong current of handclapping and cheering for the Colonel, to whom men yelled as if they thought they were watching a prize fight. At one point there were cries to Mr. Gompers, "Answer him! Answer him!"

Mr. Gompers was heard shouting, "I'll answer him after, not before." He got no chance, however, for when Col. Roosevelt sat down the Mayor seized his gavel and, remembering that it is a long way from Petrograd to East St. Louis, reminded the audience what the real intent of the meeting was and introduced the Russian Ambassador and head of the mission, Boris Bakhmetieff.

Before this happened, however, Mr. Gompers several times seemed to be on the point of leaping from his chair as if to demand a hearing before the Colonel got through. In fact, a man behind him threw his arms around the labor chief to restrain him, and Jacob H. Schiff, who had been sitting near the end of the front row, changed his seat so he would be nearer the excited Mr. Gompers.

Policemen on Guard.

Plain clothes policemen in the corridor flocked to the wings of the stage and the galleries at a moment when Col Roosevelt was saying he had always looked out for the rights of labor himself and men in the gallery screamed "You never did! you never did!" As for the Colonel, when the spat was ended and he had had his full say, he retired to his chair and beamed with the look of a man who feels that he has beaten his antagonist to a frazzle.

It was the Colonel himself who injected East St. Louis into the proceedings. He prefaced his prepared speech with an amplification of the race riot remarks that he made at Forest Hills Gardens on the Fourth of July. He said that before "we speak of giving justice to others it behooves us to see that justice is done within our own household. He said the brutal murders in the Illinois city had left a stain on the American name. There was no justification for the riots, he said, they were just plain murder.

"I demand," he said, "that the Government representatives put down violence with ruthless firmness, whether it is of white against black or black against white. Before we can help others in drawing the beam from their eyes let us draw out the beam that is in our own eyes. The most dangerous form of sentimental debauch is to give expression to good wishes in behalf of virtue somewhere else when you do not dare to enforce decency in your own province.

"So much," chuckled the Colonel, "for this brief eulogy of my fellow citizens."

All this was cheered, every sentence of it. The Colonel then read this typewritten speech.

Gompers's Explanation.

The next speaker was Mr. Gompers.

"I should like to explain about East St. Louis," he said, after praising everything else the Colonel had said. "I wish I had with me a telegram I received tonight from the secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor. It explains the whole situation. Not only labor men but the Chamber of Commerce warned those who were luring colored men from the South to undermine the workers of East St. Louis. Hundreds of thousands were brought in and there was no place for them to lay their heads. Luring them there was no more than a working of the same brutal, tyrannical forces that existed in old Russia. There is altogether too much injustice prevailing in free America [groans and hisses], but there is a larger percentage of freedom and justice than in any other country."

Mr. Gompers then told why the American Federation of Labor had not looked with favor on the calling of early peace conferences, saying the agitation to that end was either the result of German propaganda or of neutrals fearful of their own existence. He said the "man power and the wealth power of America was pledged to the Allies to the end," and that he himself had been converted from pacifism to the realization that "We have got to fight; we can't help ourselves."

Except for the hissing at the point indicated, Mr. Gompers's speech was hailed with approval. The Mayor stepped forward and was about to introduce Prof. Bakhmetieff when Col. Roosevelt, who had been fidgeting while Mr. Gompers was "explaining" the riots, darted from his chair.

"May I say another word?" he said, waving a programme in his right hand and obviously boiling with suppressed feeling.

"I am not willing," he went on, biting off each word as if it were a soft nosed bullet, "that a meeting called to commemorate the birth of a democracy in Russia shall even seem to have given any approval or accepted any apology for theb rutal infamy imposed on negroes, on colored men."

Most of the audience sprang to its feet, yelling for the Colonel.

Shakes Fist at Gompers.

"Justice," he continued, "is not merely words. It is to be translated into living acts, and how can we praise the people of Russia if we by explanation, silence or evasion apologize for murdering the helpless. [Cheers.] In the past I have listened to the same form of excuse from the Russian autocracy for the pogroms inflicted on the Jews. Shall we by silence acquiesce in this amazing apology for the murder of men, women and children in our own country?"

There was noise all over the hall, but it was all in the Colonel's favor. Hitting the speaker's table with his fist after every word, he said:

"I'll do everything for the laboring man except that which is wrong, and that I will not do for any man or cause. I care not a snap of my finger"—here the Colonel walked over to Mr. Gompers and shook his fist within a foot of the Gompers nose—"for a telegram from the head of the strongest labor union in Illinois. This thing took place in a Northern State, where the whites outnumber the negroes twenty to one, and if in that city white men cannot protect their rights by their votes against an insignificant minority and have to murder women and children, then the State that sent Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency must bow its head in shame."

Col. Roosevelt still stood over Mr. Gompers, pointing his forefinger, then shaking his fist and talking right at the labor president so everybody could hear. It was at this point that the cries "Answer him, answer him!" began, and Mr. Gompers, half rising from his chair, yelled back, "I'll answer him after, not before." There was a gush of hisses from many parts of the hall, mingled with shouts of "Go ahead!" "After him, Teddy!" "Good, good!" "Oh, Oo-o-o-oh!" "Order!" "Sit down!" "Do it again!" "Why don't you answer?" and the like.

The Colonel was talking all the time, but the only phrase identified at this moment was "the murderers." Leaving Mr. Gompers, who had been clutched by some man behind him, the Colonel jumped back to the edge of the stage and shouted above the booing and groaning:

"I will go to any extreme necessary to bring justice to the laboring man, to assure him his necessary place——"

"You never did it, you never did it!" volleyed several voices from a balcony.

"—— and to prevent his exploitation," went on the Colonel, "but when there is murder I'll put it down and I'll never submit to it. We gathered here to greet the men of the new Russia, which has been founded on the principle of justice to all, and on such an evening never will I sit motionless while directly or indirectly apology is made for the murder of the helpless."

Quieted by Mayor.

The crowd had stopped its uproar when the last few words were spoken. As the Colonel, very hot and very happy, stalked back to his seat he was followed by a tremendous cheer, shot through with several hisses.

"Gompers! Gompers! Gompers!" the labor shouters yelled. There was more hissing. Mr. Gompers was waving a hand at Mr. Roosevelt, shaking his own fist and by pantomime trying to explain that he wanted to be up and at him. The Colonel, by the way, had only Martin W. Littleton between Mr. Gompers and himself, but did not look in that direction. Mr. Gompers half started to get up, but the Mayor's gavel was loud and peremptory.

"It is well to bear in mind," he said, "that we are here to greet the envoys of the Russian people." Ignoring more cries of "Gompers" and a persistent hissing Mr. Mitchel referred to Ambassador Bakhmetieff. That reminded the crowd that it had gone far astray and the Ambassador received a cheer in which all the Roosevelt-Gompers setto was forgotten for the moment.

The meeting was a huge success. Arranged by the American Friends of New Russia, the American Ambulance in Russia and the Mayor's committee, it brought together far more persons than could get into Carnegie Hall. The streets outside were thronged. Among those on the stage or in boxes were Major-Gen. W. A. White and his staff of the British recruiting mission and many men and women of prominence in the city.

In his speech of welcome Mayor Mitchel voiced the city's pleasure at receiving the spokesmen of the new republic. He said the United States and Russia would be the closest of allies.

In deviating from his prepared address Col. Roosevelt, whose first appearance provoked a wild demonstration, said the time has come in this country when every traitor—as traitors he included men who preach hostility to our allies—"should be instantly seized by the Government. If he has been wicked enough shoot or hang him. If he has not been wicked enough place him where he can't do any more harm or send him back to that Germany where

complete

The East St. Louis Auto-Da-Fe

By SAVOYARD

IN THE city of New York dwell a considerable number of professional negroes, and on the first day of July they assembled in mass meeting to discuss "problems created by the wholesale negro migration from the South in the last year." They heartily approved the exodus, which they did not attribute to higher wage at the North, but to the treatment the negro gets at the South. Calculation was made that 350,000 had gone North, and that their emigration has cost the South $200,000,000. The Rev. Clayton Powell opined that negroes leave the South because "life to them has been made miserable and unbearable."

Fred Moore, editor of the New York Age, the negroes' organ, pointed out that in New York you could see white and negro children going home from school side by side, under the protection of the same policeman, and then he added: "There is no race friction in the North. Who is responsible for race friction in the South? How can white people in the South expect black people to respect them when they are always drawing the color line? Can the white South expect the black South to stay there forever under these conditions?" This is taken from the New York Times report.

The very next day, in the Northern city of East St. Louis, St. Clair County, Illinois, a Republican community, there was a riot in which white mobs slew a great number of negroes and destroyed property to a value estimated at vast sums. This auto-da-fe was due to but one thing—the attempt of the negroes of a North-ern city to work for a living. That was all. Then a strange thing happened. Negroes resorted to the underground railroad to escape the horrors to which they were subjected in the State of Abraham Lincoln, to take refuge and enjoy security in the State of Sterling Price. They flee for safety from the State of Joe Cannon to the State of Champ Clark.

Those professional negroes in New York made much mention of lynchings at the South. Lynchings are deplorable from every standpoint they can be viewed by a good citizen. There are more of them at the South than at the North because of abundance of raw material and the sparse population of that region, which is nearly all rural. Thus police protection at the South is much less than at the North, where the population is dense. But the mob spirit is at the North rampant. Almost daily we read in the papers of malefactors pursued by Northern mobs, who are defeated in their fell designs by the police. But at East St. Louis July 2, not only the ordinary police, but the State militar guards were powerless to prevent the lynchin of a great number of negroes, whose crime wa that they begged white brothers of the earth to give them leave to toil. That is not held a crime at the more civilized South. No negro was ever harmed in that more human and refined section for eating his bread in the sweat of his face.

And let me say this: Deplorable, foul, and atrocious as the crime of lynching is, no one was ever lynched at the South whose "removal" was not a positive advantage to the community, politically, socially, morally. And here is more: A descent negro is in no more danger of lynching at the South than a descent white man. It is always and ever your criminal negro who is lynched at the South. At the North they make no distinction. Northern lynchers catch the negro "a-comin' an' a-gwine." Perhaps that puts it too strongly. It is the decent negro who asks to work at the North; the criminal negro does not work and he is comparatively safe at the North.

About a dozen years ago a white mob in the godly town of Springfield, in the Republican county of Clark, in the loyal State of Ohio, amused themselves by killing or crippling some hundred or so of negroes residing there, burning their homes, and chasing the survivors out of the community. J. Warren Keifer, a citizen of that town, and once Speaker of Congress was then a Republican member of the national House of Representatives. He fell into recrimination about it—generally equivalent to a plea of guilty—and cussed the South for not allowing the negro to vote. Such naievete! Mind you, he was apologizing for those wholesale murders, and he seemed to think that it was a more grievous injury to the negro to deny him the right to vote in South Carolina than it was to deny him the right to life in Ohio!

Here is the nigger in the wood pile. This professional negro, Moore, editor of the negro organ in New York, uncovered him July 1 when he said: "In New York you can see white and negro children going home from school side by side, under the protection of the same policeman." Precisely. That is what your professional negro is driving at. He cares not a rap whether the negro at the South is prosperous and content. What he is after and all he is after is social equality for the negro. There is something stronger than governments or rulers, stronger than constitutions or laws, stronger than armies or navies, that forbids. It is that implacable, that inexorable emotion called caste, that will not be denied, and it is as strong at the North, where the negro has few friends, as it is at the South, where he has few enemies. Just as that professional Irishman, who hates England more than he loves Ireland, is the most vicious enemy Ireland has, so is the professional negro who howls about the wrongs of his race at the South, and lies about love for the negro at the North, the basest and most designing enemy of the negro, North and South. The negro's home is at the South, where his friends are, and if the North will only keep her dirty paws out of the mess, the race question will be completely and righteously settled by the Southern white people. And that is the only way it will ever be settled.

ASK BLACK BELT BARS BE SHUT AS RIOT CURE

Ex-Gov. Deneen and Others Declare Action Necessary to Prevent Clashes Here.

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS
JULY 7, 1917

Wiping out of saloons ... Chicago's "black belt," forbidding the sale of liquor to negroes, and the wholesale destruction of the vicious cabarets, resorts and disorderly houses that infest the colored settlements of the south side—where many thousands of the new arrivals from the south have been housed, making this one of the most congested and dangerous sections of the city—were advocated in Chicago to-day as necessary to safeguard the city from race riots such as occurred at East St. Louis, Ill.

Deneen a Leader in Move.

Among those who are urging the curbing of vice and crime as well as elimination of all resorts for the safety of the city is Former Governor Charles S. Deneen, who has made a study of the situation. Mr. Deneen was in St. Louis at the time the rioting was at its height and observed conditions first hand. He gave to The Daily News his observations.

"The occurrences at East St. Louis have cast a sad reproach upon the administration of our laws," he said. "All the excuses and explanations that can be made can furnish no justification for the denial to citizens of Illinois of rights which were theirs by constitutional guaranty. And conditions in East St. Louis are not unlike those prevailing in Chicago and some of our other cities.

"The lax administration of the law, the encouragement and protection of vicious resorts, the undermining of character in evil environment, the corruption of the morals of citizens, the bartering of the privilege of violating the laws and the protection of notorious vice lords who traffic in vice and crime have brought reproach upon the law's administration and lowered the respect for law throughout the community.

East St. Louis Riots Warning.

"The citizen looks about him and witnesses daily the toleration of law breaking and the corruption of morals. Under such conditions the law for the maintenance of public order loses its restraining influence and, when stirred by great passions, the mob brushes the law aside and defies its authority. The occurrences at East St. Louis should be a warning to our own city, for no community can tolerate such conditions and hope to have the law respected.

"At this time the duties of citizens are being emphasized. The nation is about to call 1,000,000 young men for service and sacrifice in foreign lands. Those who remain at home will have duties, not so perilous or full of sacrifice, but, nevertheless, of the highest importance; and among them is the duty of eliminating the autocracy of crime and vice which is lowering and corrupting our community morals and making merchandise of our laws. For the good of all we cannot begin this work too soon or pursue it too vigorously, fearlessly and impartially."

Judge Gemmill for Action.

That the local negro situation is one on which Chicago should look with apprehension and take prompt preventive measures to avoid a wave of crime next winter, with possible riots and bloodshed, is the opinion of Judge William N. Gemmill of the Municipal court.

"Many more negroes have been brought into my court lately than ever before," said Judge Gemmill to-day. "They are arrested mostly in fights and stabbing affairs. Many of them are new arrivals from the south, unaccustomed to carrying concealed weapons. The situation seems to be constantly growing worse.

"I look for serious trouble when next winter breaks and the usual late autumn wave of crime sets in. Many of the newcomers are worthy, but many of them also are of the vicious element. Their acts of crime will only embitter the white people against the negro race; race prejudice already is becoming too sharply defined here. There have been no serious outbreaks, but the undercurrent is there and is gaining in strength.

Immediate Move Imperative.

"Measures should be taken at once. All the saloons in the negro district, most of them vicious, the cabarets, disorderly resorts and similar places should be closed and the police force in the congested black belt strengthened. The city is responsible for these people coming here, and these steps are vital for their own protection as for the city at large. The southern negroes, not bad at heart, are easily led into excesses, and many depraved white men are exploiting them.

"From the multitude of cases coming up in my court I would say that 90 per cent or more of the trouble in which negroes are involved owes its origin to the saloons. Therefore, the saloons in these districts at least should be closed, and kept closed."

Mrs. Barnett Gives Opinion.

The closing of the saloons in the black belt would be for the good of the colored people and should be done at once, according to Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, wife of a Chicago colored attorney and one of the leading social workers in the city among the negroes. Mrs. Barnett in East St. Louis to investigate the causes of the race riots the first part of this week, told a representative for The Daily News that she agreed with the military authorities there that colored saloons and those of the white man that foster lawlessness should be closed.

"If a colored man's or a white man's saloon is in any way responsible for outrages such as have been committed here then the saloons should be closed," said Mrs. Barnett.

Mrs. Barnett, according to a dispatch from St. Louis, is in that city urging colored refugees never to return to East St. Louis until at least one white man has been hanged for the riots and murders of the last week there. She is reported to have said Chicago colored men are armed and ready for any trouble.

Seek Fair Play for Negroes.

Fair play for the 200,000 colored people in Illinois is sought in a memorial, a delegation of colored men from Chicago was to present to Gov. Lowden in Springfield at noon to-day.

"We are in no position to exercise force," declares the memorial. "We would be reckless and foolhardy, indeed, to do other than to appeal to the best conscience of the American people and ask that the constitution be respected as to all citizens alike."

The committee taking the memorial to Springfield comprises Ald. Lewis B. Anderson, representative R. R. Jackson, Edward H. Wright, Sheadrick B. Turner, Robert S. Abbott, Benjamin H. Lucas and the Rev. Archibald J. Carey.

Freeman July 14 '17

The recent outbreak at East St. Louis was the first of its kind in the history of the country. Our people, the Negroes, suffering already from many wrongs, felt that this was the last straw that broke the camel's back. We have not expressed nearly so much indignation as has been noted elsewhere and as is heard on the streets. We know that it is necessary that some of us keep cool under the most aggravating circumstances. Calm judgment must prevail in such instances, if not we rush pell mell to the very worst. Let us bear in mind that the vastly great part of the country is not East St. Louis

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

Guardian 7/7/17

DON'T CARRY A RIFLE FOR THE KAISER.

MEMPHIS, TENN. APPEAL
JULY 8, 1917

Theodore Roosevelt lays the crime of the East St. Louis tragedy to labor.

Samuel Gompers denies.

Gen. Sherman of Illinois lays the crime to liquor.

Ex-Gov. Dunne charges the crime to politicians and selfish manufacturers.

Others charge the crime to a German propaganda.

Elements from all of these alleged causes were factors in the East St. Louis tragedy.

It is a fact that every life lost at East St. Louis gives life to a German soldier and will take the life of an American soldier in France. Every murder committed in the United States will be a factor in prolonging the war in Europe.

Every riot in the United States will aid the Germans just as the winning of a battle or a skirmish.

The entry of America in this war is a psychologic as well as a material force. If things transpire in this country upon which, as proof, the leaders may tell their people and soldiers that America is not united, it will hearten the soldiers in holding out.

If the German war lords can produce the impression on the allies that this is a loosely governed, disjointed country, it will be a factor in causing the allies themselves to doubt the merits of democracy, and force a conclusion that an imperialistic government in a contest with other nations is the most powerful.

This war is said to be on the part of the allies a struggle for liberty. This war, and all other wars, are merely struggles for a racial existence and for racial identity. These are the essence of liberty.

The most lasting instinct of barbarism is racial prejudice, and this racial prejudice is based upon a fear that the other race is bent upon surviving even at the expense of destroying us.

We will never come into an era of peace until all mankind comes to the agreement and belief that the right of separate racial existence is inalienable as the right of the individual to life, water and air.

It is necessary for the United States to bring every factor to bear to end the war quickly and victoriously.

Second to the shock of men, knowledge to the world that this people is united in a determination to prosecute the war to a victorious end will be a deciding factor.

This evidence of unity is best presented to the world by absolute peace and order at home.

Every element of disorder should be avoided. Every man should seek, as far as possible, to secure obedience to the law, and to enforce the supremacy of the law.

The man who starts a riot today, whether it be to lynch another man, or whether it be to fight a picket, to settle a labor quarrel or a personal dispute, not only strikes at the object in sight, but strikes a more deadly blow to his government.

The greater, then, will be our war strength by the degree of peace and order we have at home. And once it sinks into the mind of the German people that the Americans are terribly in earnest, they, in spite of their war madness, will gradually get a sober view of what this means.

The German leaders know the potential power of America. They are more intimately acquainted with the vast natural resources of this country than are our own people. Their hope is that the American people cannot organize themselves, and organize their material forces into an efficient military offensive.

They know this country would be a terrible foe if its people were aroused.

But they fancy that we are fat and slick and indifferent, and that although we are in the war we will trust to trade it out rather than fighting it out.

Lord Northcliffe yesterday said that German spies in England badly misjudged the psychology of England previous to the war. These German agents reported that though France and Russia might enter war against Germany, that England would not.

Germany counted upon England being out of the equation. Those who are striking for world dominion determined to quickly crush France and then strike down Russia. With France and Russia prostrate, the plan was for Germany then to destroy England.

The Germans did not think that the English had vision enough to see all this danger to themselves. The English did.

Now Germany's hope is to hold out with submarines until the Atlantic Ocean is as unsafe for allied ships as the streets of Berlin would be today for a battalion of Frenchmen. Germany also trusts to discord which may arise among the allies. The greater the delay, the greater the chance for this discord.

Germany built high hopes upon the Russian revolution. The entry of the United States again made the problem a harder one for Germany.

The United States is the turning factor in this war, but it will not be the effective factor until all the power of this country is united against Germany. Germany will be brought to a quicker realization that the power of this country is to be united against her when it goes forth to all the corners of the world that the American people are united as one man upon their objective; that every man is squarely behind the president; that we are at peace at home and no matter how long the war lasts, we will continue to have peace at home.

Therefore, the man at the fork of the roads, meeting an adversary, drawing a pistol and beginning to shoot, is just as hurtful to this country as if he were a soldier in a German trench in France shooting at on-coming Americans.

And any group of men in a large city rioting are just as hurtful to this country as if they were a regiment of Germans in the same trenches in France shooting down advancing Americans. And this tremendous fact every American ought to appreciate.

Let us not carry any muskets, knives or bludgeons for Germany while we are enjoying the privileges of American citizenship.

Peace and order at home, and war to the knife abroad

BLACKS SHOT DOWN LIKE RABBITS; MEN AND GIRLS LAUGH AS THEY TORTURE.

Bullets Pick Mobs' Prey Out as They Try to Sneak off Shielded by Women—"Poor Whites" Warned to Flee Before Homes Are Burned—Furniture Moved into Street, All Else Destroyed.

(By Hugh L. Wood, St. Louis Republic, July 3, 1917.)

At least 100 Negro men and two white men had been murdered coldly and calmly, as one shoots running or cowering rabbits, and $1,000,000 worth of property had been destroyed in East St. Louis, Illinois, at 9 o'clock last night.

The mobs, 10,000 strong, blood-crazed white men, women, girls and boys then turned to the "Black Valley" near the City Hall and fired it while soldiers of the Third and Fifth Illinois regiments stood by powerless.

The search for the blood of another race began at 6 o'clock when the mobs started fires in the Negro district, near Third street and Railroad avenue about a block from Broadway, the heart of the city.

A few Negroes, caught on the street were kicked and shot to death. As flies settled on their terrible wounds the gaping-mouthed mobsmen forbade the dying blacks to rush them off. Girls with blood on their stockings helped to kick in what had been black faces of the corpses on the street.

As the fire moved east along Railroad avenue, alongside the Southern freight sheds, hundreds of men lined up on the railroad tracks with revolvers and rifles. Here and there in the burning shacks revolvers were fired at the whites. Then, as the flames forced the Negroes to run, the white throngs opened fire.

A crazed Negro would dash from his burning home, sometimes with a revolver in his hand. Immediately revolvers by the score would be fired. He would zig-zag through the spaces between buildings. Then a well-directed shot would strike him. He would leap into the air. There were deep shouts, intermingled with shrill feminine ones.

The flames would creep to the body. The Negro would writhe, attempt to get up, more shots would be fired.

Colored Fight Back—Lose Lives Dearly.

They had rifles and revolvers. An ambulance dashed south on Tenth street. Immediately the weapons in the building opened fire and the driver whipped up his horses and drove past.

A man was riding home from work on his bicycle, going south on Tenth street. When he came in range of the Negroes in the flat opened fire and the white man, almost deranged by fear, jumped off his bicycle and ran on south, apparently escaping.

Whites Kill White by Mistake.

At Eight street and Broadway, just across from the Public Library, there

stood a frame building, at the northeast corner of a long vacant tract extending a mile eastward. The windows were closed, the doors were barred and the blinds were drawn tightly. "Let's ruin this Negro joint," cried one of the crowd.

Immediately they threw stones through the windows, broke the woodwork with beams and fired shots into the interior. Then the business of looting began. A white man entered the place.

The crowd forgot about him in its lust for destruction. A fire was set to the window frame and it blazed rapidly. Then shots were poured into the place by the hundred.

At last a bloody, blind and weakened man staggered from the building into Broadway. "There's the nigger! Kill him! Kill him!" the crowd cried

Shots were fired at the fugitive and the crowd dashed at him. He tottered across the street. Then it was seen through the blood that covered him that he was white.

Colored Fought Invaders.

"In there, in there," he gasped. Then he explained that he entered the building and a Negro had slashed him across the throat with a razor. "They killed another white man in there," he said.

A wolf-like shout arose. The crowd settled thickly around the place, firing into it.

White Shot.

Then came several shots from within and a white man dropped to the walk outside. A minute later a small white boy crumpled up with a bullet through his ankle.

The crowd went wild. A Negro dashed out of the rear of the building, across the open lot to the rear, toward a line of Negro dwellings yet standing on Railroad street.

Hundred of shots were fired, but the hands trembled. Soldiers and policemen joined in this man hunt. The Negro, eyes glaring, turned at his white tormentors and fired two shots. He missed, but he got away.

Another black, roasting inside, dashed out at the rear, gained the open yards and apparently was off. The weapons were fired in a volley.

He fell, rose, was knocked down, rose again and tried to hobble to temporary safety, 25 yards away. A true shot got him midway and he fell. Women's screams of victory were heard above the shouts of the men.

His Disguise Unavailing.

The first Negro shot was still lying on the floor of the rear porch as the flames licked toward him. They touched him and his arm raised into the air. Then the fire grew hotter, alonged knee was drawn up and the man writhed. That was the last the crowd saw of him because the flames swept the building away.

Girl Stamps on Prostrate Black—Men Kick Face.

A Negro weighing 300 pounds came out of the burning line of dwellings just north and east of the Southern freighthouse. His hands were elevated and his yellow face was speckled with the awful fear of death.

So a man in the crowd clubbed his revolver and struck the Negro in the face with it. Another dashed an iron bolt between the Negro's eyes. Still another stood near him and battered him with a rock.

Then the giant Negro toppled to the ground. "This is the way," cried one. He ran back a few paces, then ran at the prostrate Black at full speed and made a flying leap.

His heels struck right in the middle of the battered face. A girl stepped up and struck the bleeding man with her foot. The blood spurted onto her stockings and the men laughed and grunted.

Soldiers Say They Favor Killing Colored, But Not Women.

Other soldiers, answering fierce taunts from the mob, placated them by saying they, too, were in favor of killing the Blacks but weren't going to interfere. They begged, however, that women not be killed.

Whites Back Away from Colored Fighters.

The mob, with the characteristic bravado of mob spirit, then threatened to go on toward Tenth street where the Blacks were ambushing the roadway. They started, halted, each one looking out of the corner of his eye for men who would go to the front. None moved up to the perilous position.

The crowd hesitated, halted and then milled back. A shot now and then from a rifle in the Negro dwellings whizzed toward them. Then someone set up the shout: "Let's go back and clean up Third street!"

In one Colored district where the whites did not dare go were some Colored men in autos.

A peaceable Black said he feared they were trouble makers and were ploting to make a sortie in the automobiles against the whites as had been done Sunday night.

"If they'll only leave us alone we won't bother the white folks," said the Negro. "Of course, if they intend to harm us I feel that I'm as good at fighting as any white man."

The mobs as they passed from place to place seting fire to the various Negro districts, congratulated themselves that they were exterminating the natural haunt of the Negro in East St. Louis.

Serves 'em Right for Renting Houses.

It was pointed out that most fire insurance companies attach clauses to their policies disavowing all liability for damage done by mobs. As nearly all of the houses burned belonged to white property owners and real estate men the mobs laughed to think of the financial loss it would entail to them.

"Serves 'em right for renting to the skunks," said one.

In one instance the clothing was stripped from a Negro woman who led from the burning district.

NEW ORLEANS (LA.) STATES
JULY 8, 1917

THE ILLINOIS RIOTS.

Whenever race troubles occur in the South Northern criticism runs to flagellation of the authorities for inefficiency and sympathy with the mob. We are told there is a higher respect for the law in the North, and that officers of the law are not turned from the performance of their duty by sympathy.

Only the other day, The Crisis, the leading exponent of the thought of the colored race in this country, discussing the migration from the South and finding mob rule one of the excuses of it, said:

The stream of migration is large. It is going to be larger. The hand of the government can be depended on in East St. Louis to put down mobs; it cannot be depended on in Memphis.

The disgraceful outbreak at East St. Louis this week, with its heavy loss of life and destruction of property, is a swift and complete answer to the inference that in the North the negro is safe against mob violence.

There has been no parallel in the South in recent years of the brutal, ruthless and bloodthirsty crusade of this Illinois mob against the unfortunate objects of their wrath, and there certainly never has been in this section a more glaring case of official incompetency and weakness than the Illinois authorities have shown.

The original outbreak, some weeks ago, came suddenly and the State and local authorities had some excuse for not promptly putting it down. But no such excuse can be set up for the bloody disorders of this week. The Illinois militia was on the scene. The local authorities were fully aware of the danger at any moment of a clash between the races. No other reason, therefore, can be advanced for the duration and atrocity of the rioting than the passive aquiesence of the authorities in the lawlessness. The news reports agree that practically a free rein was given the mob.

The whole affair is a shocking disgrace to a State which assumes to be one of the most enlightened in the nation. It is correctly described by leading men of the race as the most cruel and bloody in the history of attacks on American negroes; and those who permitted it cannot be too severely condemned even if, as seems probable, they cannot be punished.

In the meantime the Illinois massacre must be looked upon as the latest and most impressive object-lesson yet offered the colored people of the South of the grave danger they run in leaving the South and invading northern cities in any considerable numbers. The President of Tuskegee, bitterly condemning the Illinois affair, declares that nowhere in the South would such a massacre occur, the cause of it, at bottom, being merely resentment of the negro's industrial activities. For a year we have been saying substantially the same thing to the negro leaders—that the members of the race ought to remain in the South, where there is abundant work for them to do in agricultural, industrial and other lines and where they may labor without molestation, and keep away from the North, where they were sure to encounter antagonisms from union and other labor there and become the unfortunate victims of the wrath of those whom they crowded out of employment.

CHICAGO ILL HERALD
JULY 9, 1917

PICTURE THEM!

"Should we not stop and think that what men, women and children have done in East St. Louis to the invading army of colored laborers who threatened to curtail wages by offering cheaper labor," inquires the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, "might only have been a repetition of what the infuriated men, women and children of Belgium did to the invading German army and wherefore they had to undergo in several cases that severe punishment which agitators have characterized as German atrocities?"

Picture them—particularly the infuriated women and children of Belgium! See them attack, scatter and murder large numbers of the trained German army that had debouched upon them to cut down wages! Fancy the cowering German troops hunted from place to place and fearing to come into the streets because of the danger from the infuriated women and children! And then picture the aforesaid German troops thus hardly entreated deciding that the infuriated women and children must be punished and proceeding to punish them at once!

"Does this not show one of our most serious grievances against Germany in a different light?" the *Staats-Zeitung* in the same mood of sweet reasonableness demands. It does not. Neither does the argument show the *Staats-Zeitung* in a different light. It is still the same. "Our serious grievances?" We can imagine no grievance which this country has against Germany that is shared by the *Staats-Zeitung*.

PREACHER TELLS CAUSE OF E ST LOUIS RIOTS

ST JOSEPH MO GAZETTE
JULY 9, 1917

Employers Were Employing 40 Per Cent Negroes to Prevent Labor Trouble

That the race riots in St. Louis were due to the fact that for a year the big industries there had been carrying on a movement to make at least 40 per cent of their employes negroes, and had sent scouts all through the South stimulating the negroes to a northern invasion, was the statement made here yesterday by Dr. Cameron Harmon, president of Missouri Wesleyan college, Cameron, Mo.

"The managers of the big industries had their orders to shift gradually the percentage of the employes in favor of the blacks, it being their theory that the southern negroes would be satisfied with what would be to them an increased wage, and that there would be less danger of strikes and other labor troubles. The result was the economic resentment of the whites."

Dr. Harmon up to two months ago was the pastor of the First Methodist church at East St. Louis, and was familiar with the situation. His church had 1,300 resident members, and was a big factor in the life of the city, but it was not actively in touch with the class of people that had to do with the riots.

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis.

EAST ST. LOUIS NEGRO TELLS OF RIOT.

N Y C CALL
JULY 7, 1917

Copyright, International Film Service.

An aged Negro telling his story to the rescuers who saved hi from the fury of the murderous mob in the race war in East St. Louis.

BOSTON MASS JOURNAL
JULY 5, 1917

CAN AMERICA AFFORD IT?

From every corner of the country, from men and women who have been reared in an atmosphere of freedom regardless of race, color or previous condition of servitude, comes an appeal for such justice at home as we are demanding abroad.

The race war at East St. Louis, with Negro men, women and children murdered because of white men's prejudice, wounds the very soul of a nation which has promised its all in a great war for democracy.

Appeals to Congress, appeals to the President, supplications to the heart of this republic are made in an anguished attempt to rout this nightmare of massacre and to assure to an outraged section of our population the justice which is theirs by constitutional law and the security which is theirs by the law of humanity.

* * * * * * *

We cursed our enemy for sinking a shipload of us in the sea. Yet we ourselves slaughter our own people in their homes and deny to the survivors the protection which, by sending armies 3000 miles across the sea, we are voluntarily giving to foreign peoples.

We railed at the cruel military power that executed a woman spy in Belgium. Yet we break women's heads in East St. Louis for no worse crime than that the victim's skin is black.

We would scourge Turkey from Europe for the killing of Armenians who offend the Turkish religious faith. We have less than a religious quarrel with the Negroes whom we promise in our Constitution to admit to full citizenship.

We will tear from his throne the monarch who despoiled Belgian homes and dragged Belgian people into slavery. Yet we, who profess to set slaves free, destroy both homes and people.

This government, with its President and its Congress nobly devoted to making the world safe for democracy, surely cannot countenance such an outburst of blood lust, such a debauchery of our fairest traditions.

* * * * * * *

What we need in this country is a new Emancipation Proclamation.

We have a President who could equal Lincoln's language; and we have the government machinery to enforce its terms.

Let's be honest; let's not turn our backs on our own failings while we rush to chastise the sins of Europe. Let us confess that we have in this country a condition which is not equaled in all the world outside of unspeakable Turkey. Let us recall that the Negro's status has been steadily slumping in recent years, and especially since the South arose to legislative and appointive power during the present adminstration.

There are Negro-hating institutions and newspapers which dismiss the East St. Louis crime with a reference to "economic warfare." But there would have been no blows struck, no hangings, no burnings, no clubbings, had national respect for the Negro been as high as the government is pledged to keep it—pledged by a sacred trust, with an oath written in the best blood of '61.

America cannot afford class hatreds and class murders at home while she advertises to a shuddering world the golden dawn of democracy.

Can our government ignore its responsibility?

GRAND JURY TO BEGIN INQUIRY IN RIOT TODAY

Circuit Judge George Crow to Charge Investigation of Race War and Indictment of Men in Mobs.

BRUNDAGE TO BE REPRESENTED

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 9. 1917

Panel Called to Belleville Will Probe Slaying of Police Officers and Deaths of Negroes on Monday.

Circuit Judge George Crow of East St Louis this morning will charge the St Clair County grand jury to investigate exhaustively every aspect of the race rioting which occurred Monday night in East St. Louis.

E. J. Brundage, attorney general of Illinois, has investigated the East St. Louis trouble, and one of his assistants will aid the grand jury in its investigation. C. W. Middlekauf, assistant attorney general, will attend the St. Clair County grand jury work this morning.

Judge Crow will meet with the grand jury this morning at 9 o'clock in the Belleville Courthouse, where the County Court is located. He will lay before the jury the work to be taken up by it, and this work consists principally of the probe of the race rioting.

Thorough Probe Planned.

The grand jury which will investigate the rioting is the jury summoned for the April term of court in St. Clair County. Two weeks ago Judge Crow called it together to meet on this day. Judge Crow had in mind at the time of his summoning of the jury the investigation of various other crimes and offenses which had been left over from the April term.

Judge Crow said last night that his charge to the jury would cover every phase of the riots to ascertain what crimes were committed and who committed them. When this has been done the grand jury will probably return indictments against any men whom they think guilty of either the shooting of the policemen Sunday night or the massacre of the negroes Monday evening.

Jury's Course Uncertain.

The jury, when summoned two weeks ago by Judge Crow, consisted of only twenty men, three short of a full panel. With the developments of the past week, Judge Crow has found it necessary to order the county sheriff to impanel three more citizens of the county to fill out the jury. He said that he wished a full jury to investigate the affair.

Because of the other matters before the jurymen for consideration it is not known whether, after Judge Crow's charge, they will proceed immediately to the consideration of the East St. Louis riots or let this phase of the investigation take its normal turn with the other business in hand.

If the grand jury meeting this morning returns indictments before it adjourns the men indicted are likely to be tried at the September term of court. If they are not tried then, their cases will be held over to the January, 1918, term.

Will Aid State Officers.

This morning at 10 o'clock the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred will resume its investigation at Beatty's Hall into the rioting. It will continue its effort to have enacted as law the proclamation which it issued Friday. At the meeting Friday it declared that the police force of the city must be reorganized and that the city officials were inefficient and lax in their duty. Mayor Mollman voted for this resolution in the Chamber of Commerce session. Conrad Rebb is chairman of the Committee of One Hundred.

A committee of five men, with Edmond Goedde as chairman, has been appointed to render what legal aid is necessary to the state prosecuting officials in order to bring the men criminally culpable for the rioting in East St. Louis to justice. The Committee of One Hundred is determined that the prosecuting forces of the state shall have every possible aid in bringing punishment to both the white rioters of Monday and the black mob members who killed the two detectives Sunday night.

RACE ASKED TO SUSPEND JUDGMENT

The Journal and Guide 7/21/17

Whites of Country Not To Be Judged By East St. Louis Mob.

BE PATIENT AND HOPEFUL

Principal Long Strikes Optimistic Note In Reviewing Horrors Of East St. Louis.

Christianburg, Va.—A statement given out by President E. A. Long of the Christianburg Institute and published in the Roanoke Times and other papers in this section of the State urged colored citizens to refrain from "making hasty, radical statements," regarding the East St. Louis riots, and urged patience and hopefulness, in view of the progress the race is making and the increasing number of white friends who are speaking out in our behalf. Mr. Long's statement follows:

"In view of the recent atrocities committed in East St. Louis, I very much fear that those counted as leaders among Negro people may gain a wrong impression from the incident and create a sentiment detrimental to the interests of both races.

"No one can deny that the East St. Louis holocaust is a blot upon American civilization. The effects of it will be lasting and unless drastic measures are taken to bring to justice the perpetrators of the crime the name of America may become a byword and a hissing among the civilized nations of the world, and her fair boast that she is fighting to make "the world safe for democracy" may be rightly regarded as hollow mockery. However, I would warn colored people, and especially leaders whose words carry weight—ministers, editors, professional and business men generally, from making hasty, radical statements either in public or in private from which the impression may be gained that the Negroes have no friends among the white race.

"While such incidents as the East St. Louis tragedy may seem inexplicable to foreigners with whom this nation must necessarily be more or less closely associated during the course of the present war, and many years afterward for all we know, they do not jutify us in concluding that the Negro is not making progress nor that he has no friends among the white people. If we stop to think a moment there is scarcely a Negro anywhere in this country who can not claim one or more white persons as friends. This is peculiarly manifested in the South, but not entirely so. North where strong affection exists between white people and black people. No braver statement ever came from a man than that uttered by Col. Roosevelt in New York recently when he said: "It behooves us to express our condemnation of acts that give the lie to our words within the limits of our own country and to say that it is impossible that there should be justification for mob violence. It is our duty to demand that the governmental authorities shall use with ruthless severity every power at their command to punish those guilty of murder whether committed by whites against blacks or whether by blacks against whites."

"I recall also with great appreciation the very firm statement made in the editorial columns of this paper upon the first outburst in East St. Louis several weeks ago, alllof which clearly indicates that well-wishers of the Negro are confined to no section.

"If therefore, I had any suggestions to offer, I would say to my own people, let us be patient, let us be loyal, let us be hopeful, and exemplify the generous spirit of those brave sons of Africa now on the firing line in France trying to free Belgium from German tyranny—many of them descendants of those whom Belgium mutilated and destroyed. Let us show that magnaminity of spirit which was exhibited by One who said: "Forgive them, they know not what they do."

"To the white friends of the Negro, I would say you can best help us by creating among your people strong sentiment for exact justice and fair play in the little as well as in the big things.

"A word fitly spoken by a few brave souls will galvanize into activity many timorous ones whose impulses are to do what they know to be right, but who are deterred for fear of public sentiment. If we had a few more white friends who would "cry aloud and spare not," it would not be long before there would be such a healthy public sentiment in this country that the crime of East St. Louis would be unthinkable."

THOUSANDS LEAVE EAST ST. LOUIS CARED FOR HERE

ST LOUIS, MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 6, 1917

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, LEADS IN GIVING RELIEF TO THE SUFFERERS.

Red Cross, City Officials, Y. W. C. A., Y. M. C. A. and Hundreds of Noble Citizens of St. Louis Lend Aid, Food, Clothing and Lodging being Provided.

Negroes Begged to Return. Plants Must Close if They Cannot Get Colored Help. Very Few Are Going South.

Thousands of refugees have been fleeing from East St. Louis since Sunday night. The majority have crossed the river into St. Louis and hundreds went immediately to Union Station where they took trains to other cities, in most instances turning a deaf ear to the call from the south. The Big Four Railroad is taking many east to work on the company lines and several large establishments in St. Louis are offering employment.

Agents of the freight houses on the East Side came over Thursday and begged the men to return, guaranteeing protection, but there was no inclination on the part of the men to risk the return at present.

As fast as the refugees have arrived in St. Louis they have been taken in automobiles to the Municipal Lodging House, 110-112 S. 12th, where they are registered and vaccinated and given food and lodging.

Many of them presented a most pitiful sight and their tales of suffering are heart-rending. Only a few families are intact. In most cases some member was missing and a wailing plea is constantly heard: "Will you please try to find my relative." They have lost all they possessed and many are without clothes enough to cover their bodies.

Work of the N. A. A. C. P.

The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took the initiative in arranging to care for the unfortunate East St. Louisans. As soon as the condition was known, the Executive Committee, through their chairman Chas. A. Pittman, called a meeting at Pythian Hall in which a couple of hundred citizens from St. Louis and East St. Louis attended. The following committees with names of chairmen given, were appointed and immediately started to work:

Information, Prof. F. L. Williams; Housing, David C. Jones; Finding an Directing, B. Lavine; Finance, Rev. W H. Peck; Employment, Paul Moseley Press, Herbert T. Meadows. Thes chairmen were given the assistance c capable and experienced men, wh have never ceased in their work. S great was the undertaking that a committees were lending aid to eac other without reserve. The first mov was to get a central headquarters. D W. P. Curtis was authorized to sec Chas. Nagel, who conferred with Ac ing Mayor Aloe, who directed Joh Schmoll, director of public welfare, open the Municipal Lodging House f the refugees. A fund was given secure food and the management w given to the Red Cross Society.

Right here, if it were possible, would mention the names of all t noble citizens who have sacrific everything to comfort the unfortunat but in justice to many whose nam have not been enrolled we can or hope that this list can be secured full for the next issue. Men and wo en have worked day and night, forg ting sleep and meals. All have be kind and indulgent. Director Schmoll has stayed on the scene almost con- stantly, offering every assistance. Chie of Police Young has been instructin his force in exercising the greate care in handling the big crowd. Assi from the police patrols and ambulance a large number of citizens furnish their automobiles to bring the refuge from the bridges. Some few started to charge the unfortunates but the were soon disposed of. Among tho who have donated their machines ar Chas. H. and Tom Turpin, Richa Kent, Gus Scott, Jake McAfee, Lang ton Harrison, Bismark Lavin, Chas. M Donald, Ernest L. Harris, J. H. Ha ris, Prof. and Mrs. Malone, Chas. M Donald, Miss Emma Nash, and othe whose names were not obtained.

George Wright also has rendered va uable assistance with his auto-bus.

The ministers opened all the church for an overflow from the lodging hou but as many of the citizens have kind taken hundreds to their homes t churches have not been needed.

The Young Women's Christian Ass ciation, under Miss Belcher, and t Y. M. C. A., led by Mr. Jones, ha done noble work.

Mrs. Malone and a corps of worke have been on duty at the Union St tion. The Booker Washington Theater has been held in readiness to accommodate all who needed sleeping quarters and through the kindness of Jerry enfro, and the assistance of Chief and Mr. Schmoll, a rest room en has been opened at 2218 Mar- St., with benches from the park rtment.

JUDGE LANDIS WOULD DO IT.

It is evident that the inquiry into the East St. Louis murders under the direction of the local authorities will be a farce. The effect of enforced secrecy and terrorism by the police in the Coroner's inquest was manifest. Witnesses were intimidated and the testimony was practically valueless.

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 8, 1917

On account of local and political influences little more can be expected of the State investigation. Terrorism and powerful influences will be brought to bear on State courts and officers of law subject to them.

The only hope of adequate results lies in a Federal inquiry under the direction of a Federal Judge wholly independent and fearless of local powers and influences. If the Department of Justice would take the investigation in hand, good results would be possible. If Judge Landis, whose fearless probing into lawless conditions in East St. Louis specially fits him for the work, should have charge of the inquiry, we have no doubt that all the facts would be brought out and the guilty punished.

Judge Landis and a Federal grand jury would clean up the mob murderers of East St. Louis and open the way to genuine reform.

CHICAGO ILL HERALD
JULY 15, 1917

THE EX POST FACTO GOOD CITIZEN.

The good and law-abiding citizens of East St. Louis have come heroically to the front. They have issued a statement of which the sturdy patriotism and dauntless resolution warm the heart. They denounce the recent crimes, apportion the blame justly and in other respects hold the proper discourse.

Which is good as far as it goes. But how far will it go? It is up to the good citizens who speak thus strongly to act with equal decision. Punishment must be principally a local process. The county, the jury, the witnesses, the sheriff are all local institutions. The first job of the good citizens who mean business is to carry such a mass of definite information as to the persons who were engaged in the riots and murders that there will be no question of failure to indict.

The good citizen should have gotten into action earlier. He might have labored effectively to end outrageous conditions before the outbreak. When it came he might have massed on the side of law and order and opposed his force, in a posse or otherwise, to lawless force. He seems not to have done so. As is too generally the case, he contents himself with an ex post facto role as far as the original crimes are concerned. He should get into the forefront of the prevention and punishment brigades.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

SAN JOSE CAL HERALD
JULY 4, 1917

RACE RIOTS.

THE race riots in East St. Louis appear to be pretty well under control. Over eight hundred, black and white, have been killed or injured, several companies of militia were required to deal with the disturbance, and over $2,000,000 worth of property has been destroyed. It is one of the most deadly race feuds in the history of the country, and resulted from the killing of a police official, supposedly by negroes. The Federal Government is so stirred that an investigation is proposed with the view of determining whether at the bottom of it all may not be found a German conspiracy.

This incipient riot with its toll of more than a hundred lives gives one a fairly good idea of what might happen in the event of a more widespread and better organized feud, and under conditions of unpreparedness such as the country has suffered in years past. In two or three Southern States there are more blacks than whites, and in all Southern States the blacks are treated as outcasts. From pillar to post they are hurried along that livelihoods naturally theirs may be taken by whites, and although the blacks have never seriously asserted themselves they are none the less conscious of the abuse heaped upon them and inwardly resentful against the whites.

Some day a leader of ability and courage, a wicked, designing negro, as capable as the late Booker Washington but more militant, will prepare and secretly arm his people for just such emergencies as the one at East St. Louis. Such an organization would be capable of doing vast damage to life and property before the Government troops could reach the scene and suppress the temper of either side. The South is not prepared to defend itself, nor is the North, for that matter, unless is calculated the preparedness of recent development, the extent of which is still more or less conjectural.

The American people do not half appreciate the vastness of the race problem, always a smouldering menace to the peace of the country, nor the want of preparedness in past years to deal with it. Certainly a riot that can survive three or four days before troops can stop it, is more portentious than can be imagined upon careless consideration. It will, of course, never be necessary to fill the South with troops, but there surely should be a number of army posts from which help would be available when necessary.

3,000 REFUGEES CARED FOR HERE

St. Louis Open to Negroes From East Side, but They Find Saloons Closed.

ST LOUIS MO REPUBLIC
JULY 4, 1917

ALL GET MEDICAL ATTENTION

Society Women and Albert Von Hoffman Give Aid to Stricken Army.

Fully 3,000 cowering negro men, women and children, carrying what they could of their personal belongings, sought a refuge in this city yesterday from the fury of the East St. Louis mobs.

All saloons in the negro districts of this city had received orders from Chief of Police Young not to sell a drop of intoxicants to any negro from the East Side. Capt. Schwartz said this would affect about 12 saloons in the Central District alone.

Chief Young took extraordinary precautions to prevent an outbreak of rioting, distributing special squads of officers to the negro districts. He also placed an embargo on the selling of firearms.

About 1,000 of the refugees were kept at the Municipal Lodging-house all night, while the others were allowed to spend the night with relatives and friends in this city.

FED BY RED CROSS.

Three cases of smallpox were discovered among the blacks who stayed at the lodging-house. These were rushed to the Quarantine. All the negroes who entered St. Louis were vaccinated unless they had recently received the same treatment.

The Red Cross, assisted by the negro Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., took charge of the situation early and fed the hundreds who crowded the lodging-house last night. Physicians of the City Health Department treated the wounded and vaccinated those who needed that treatment.

Scores of touring cars, delivery trucks, police patrol wagons and the city ambulances were pressed into service to carry the negroes from the west end of the bridges to the lodging-house.

No negro was allowed to enter this city alone. Police held them at the west end of the bridges until groups collected and then took them to the lodging-house, where every refugee was given a medical examination. They were not allowed to leave the lodging-house until they received a certificate showing they had been vaccinated.

Chief Young ordered every pawnship and hardware store to telephone the police if anyone attempted to purchase weapons. All people crossing from this city to the East Side were searched for firearms before they were allowed to cross the bridges. One negress and nine negroes were arrested and held on charge of carrying weapons.

STEADY STREAM OF ARRIVALS.

A constant stream of negroes poured across the bridges and through the door of the lodging-house until late last night. All count was lost and some officials in charge estimated there were between 3,000 and 5,000. Only about 1,000 stayed at the lodging-house all night.

The climax was reached at 7 o'clock when automobiles of all types were unloading their refugee passengers so rapidly they could not all crowd into the lodging-house. Hundreds were packed in the street between the City Hall and lodging-house guarded by policemen.

D. F. Jones, secretary of the negro Y. M. C. A., declared employment is being sought by a special citizens' committee for the destitute negroes who are seeking shelter in St. Louis. He asserted there will be no trouble finding work for all those needing it.

Albert Von Hoffman, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Red Cross Committee, worked all afternoon to take care of crowds of negroes who swarmed into the place. He was assisted by committees from the local negro organizations. A number of society women interested in Red Cross work assisted in the work at the lodging-house.

The negroes, hurrying to this city for protection, brought what was left of their property. Most of them walked, although some came in wagons, and one man rode a mule. They carried their belongings in their arms and on their backs. One negress had only a glass water pitcher, but she held it close all day.

MANY BADLY WOUNDED.

A score or more of the negroes were badly wounded, and scores of others cut and bruised. Several men came with their clothes hanging in shreds around them. A half doezn wore blood-soaked shirts and others were bandaged. Some of them were so badly hurt they could hardly walk.

The condition of the little children was pitiful in the extreme. Girls and boys, scarcely more than babies, bore marks of the mob's violence. Scores of children between 10 and 15 had been slapped and kicked, many of them bearing marks of their treatment.

A girl was born to one negress shortly after she arrived at the lodging-house. She was rushed to the City Hospital. Her body bore marks of the beating she received yesterday at the hands of the East St. Louis mobs.

Another negress with three small children fainted soon after reaching the protection of the St. Louis police. She is expecting the stork and had been brutally handled by the mobs.

An old mammy reached the lodging-house in a fervor of excitement to find her "ol' man."

"Ah hain't been separated from that no-count man fo' 50 yeahs an' I jes' gotta find him, or ah'll die," she moaned.

Fifteen minutes later an old man rushed into the house and up to an official with: "I'se huntin' for Mandy and I'll go crazy sure, boss, if I don't find her!"

They spied each other and the reunion was exceedingly joyful.

One young negress walked up to a reporter and asked how much it would cost to have some white man go to East St. Louis and find out if her husband was alive. "Oh, about $40, I guess," a bystander remarked.

"Huh, that man never was worth that much to me. He wouldn't even carry home my washins'."

COLUMBUS O DISPATCH
JULY 6, 1917

TERRORISM INSPIRED BY TERROR.

Most outbreaks of racial hatred are attributable to anger stirred by the crime of some negro against a white man or woman. The East St. Louis rioting is unique, or nearly so. The only discernible cause is the general terror of the whites lest the community be overrun by the blacks. Like all mobs inspired by sheer unreasoning terror this one has been cruel, relentless and unreasoning. It has surpassed in brutality the rioters of other cities who have set forth at times to punish the whole negro race for the crime of an individual. The motive of terror is more ferocious than that of mere vengeance.

There is no possibility that the northern movement of the negroes will be checked by manifestations like those of the people of East St. Louis. The movement merely follows the law of supply and demand. There is demand in the north for labor, and the negroes, perhaps mistakenly, see an opportunity to better their condition of life. The south can ill spare these emigrants, and is highly perturbed at the prospect of a shortage of all kinds of labor. The cities of the north are not eager to receive the newcomers. Yet nothing short of a general nation-wide regulation can check the movement.—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

THE TRIBUNE ON THE RIOTS.

Advertiser 07/6/17

The editorial in The Chicago Tribune upon the lynching of Leo Frank more than a year ago was the most cruel, unjust and savage attack upon the people of the South ever penned by a foolish and vindictive editor. The series of anti-Southern editorials which appeared in The Tribune during the campaign last year were of much the same stripe. They were absurdly vicious and unreasoning.

The Tribune must now realize the injustice of its indictment of the white people of the whole South because of the discreditable Southern lynching record.

In its comments upon the East St. Louis massacre The Tribune, though not confessing any penance or acknowledging its error in judgment with regard to a respectable section of the country, is yet bold and vigorous in its treatment of the question which has come home to it, but not more vigorous than Southern newspapers are whenever an outbreak of violence occurs here. Nothing could be added to The Tribune's editorial treatment of the Illinois riots, since it denounces the police and the militia for their failures and demands that the Governor and the Legislature of the State go to the bottom of the crime and punish the guilty

MAURICE V. JOYCE ASSERTS LAX RULE CAUSED RACE RIOT

Rich East St. Louis Lawyer Says It Evolved From Long Period of Lawlessness.

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 6, 1917

MAYOR WAS IMPORTUNED

Word Allowed to Go Out That Police Would Not Interfere With Certain Violations.

Maurice V. Joyce, attorney and one of the wealthiest residents of East St. Louis, who has always been at the forefront as a leader of every movement to improve the city physically and politically, today in an interview given to the Post-Dispatch declared that the murderous race riots there evolved out of a long-standing condition or lawlessness which had been fostered and encouraged by city officials and the police.

Joyce, who is about 40 years old, was born and reared in East St. Louis and

has had abundant opportunity to study conditions there. He has long been recognized by the law abiding element as a representative of those forces which have been persisting in the up-hill task of making East St. Louis a better place in which to live. He is vice president of the Chamber of Commerce there and for several terms was president of the Commercial Club.

Text of Joyce's Statement.

He said: "We have a Police Department that is incompetent and inefficient, if not worse. Not only was the word sent out that law would not be rigidly enforced, but the positive impression was allowed to spread that law violations would be winked at and ignored by those officials responsible for law enforcement.

"By lawlessness I mean the wide open and flagrant operation of gambling houses, winerooms, immoral resorts and dives of all kinds. Everybody knew these places were running; everybody knew where they were and how they could be closed—everybody except Mayor Mollman.

"This conditions became so pronounced recently that a certain bad element of both blacks and whites became convinced they could do just as they pleased. This led to excesses by the negroes against the whites, and was responsible for the subsequent outrages committed by a certain class of whites upon the negroes. There was a well-defined, obvious conviction held by persons inclined to be lawbreakers, that they could do anything and not suffer for it.

"Members of the Chamber of Commerce held a meeting at 2 o'clock Monday afternoon, and agreed that the situation was menacing, and that a night of terror was inevitable unless steps were taken to prevent it. We agreed that it could be prevented by the police dispersing the small crowds that congregated on street corners.

Urged Mayor to Act.

"We called Mayor Mollman in and pleaded with him to make the police act. He said that, after the killing of Detective Coppedge, he had lost control of the police department. We demanded then, if that was the case, that he tell the fact to Gov. Lowden. After considerable parleying, he called the Governor's office, and repeated the statement.

"It was then that Col. Tripp made the statement that he would have the situation under control by night, with the arrival of more troops."

Col. Tripp has since explained that the expected troops did not arrive, and that instead of the 600 men he had counted on, he had only 225.

Repeated attempts have been made by Post-Dispatch reporters to obtain statements from Mayor Mollman and Police Chief Ransom Payne since the riots. Both have said they "would not talk to the Post-Dispatch."

When pressed for an explanation of this attitude they have said the Post-Dispatch had been unfair in exposing conditions in East St. Louis.

The Citizens' Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of East St. Louis, headed by Conrad Reeb, president of the organization, after a meeting this morning announced that the Chamber of Commerce will demand the resignations of Chief of Police Ransom Payne and of Night Chief of Police Cornelius Hickey and a thorough reorganization of the Police Department immediately.

THE EAST ST. LOUIS EPISODE

Globe Star of Zion 7/19/17

—is another evidence of the industrial upheavel of these omious times. It paints in gorgeous colors, the danger which we may expect from the unrestraint animal instinct, which lies buried deep down in the heart of the aliens who have no real appreciation for American institutions.

The destruction of property, blood shed and loss of life, testify to the despicable disregard for law and order, cherished by certain types of the whites. Certainly we would expect no greater disregard for all which mankind hold sacred in darkest Africa, or the Islands of the sea.

It also emphasises the wholesale indifference with which some folks attempt to execute the law when the unfortunates are the victims.

While we deplore the ruthless slaughter of our brethren in this unfortunate affairs We are not in accord with many of our daily papers, which see in it a race riot, and a savage attempt to drive the black man back into the Southland.

So much as we regret to see the wholesale desertion of the farmers, and the indiscriminate exodus from the South. We do not see in the East St. Louis barbaric butchery, a race riot.

We call it an economic or an industrial riot. It is one of these unfortunate occurrances which has happened a thousand times, even when the black man was far from the scene. It has happened in Ohio, in West Virginia it has happened in the South; and will happen again between the same races.

The black man seeks equal industrial opportunities: and this is the price he must pay for the good which he will eventually enjoy as all other races of our common country.

NORTHERN PEOPLE WANT E. ST. LOUIS RIOT INVESTIGATED

Advertiser 7/17/17

Senator Tillman Declares That "Yankees" Do Not Love the Negro

(Associated Press)

WASHINGTON, July 16—Urging prompt adoption of his resolution for a congressional investigation of the recent race riots at East St. Louis, Ills., Senator Sherman told the senate today the situation still was serious there and that 'there is as much influence in securing acquittal of guilty men in Illinois as there ever was in Georgia."

He urged that the federal authorities, either through the department of justice of a congresional committee, investigate the situation, or if the house refuses to concur in the resolution, that a federal grand jury be empanelled to investigate and prescute those responsible for the riot, because prosecutions would be "inconclusive and incomplete unles made by government authorities."

Senator Tillman made a speech supporting the resolution, remarking that the "average yankee" wanter the negro's vote and nothing else, but that the north was beginning to understand the south and the race problem.

"I have known for many years and not hesitated to say so al over the north in my lectures and on the floor of the senate," said Senator Tillman, "that the average yankee—we southerners call men yankees north of the Mason and Dixon line— has no love for the negro, except for political reasons.

"They want his vote and nothing else.

"The north is now beginning to understand the south and to understand the race problem to, and I am very glad to see so many northern men being ordered to camps in the south for drilling and training. In this way they wil see something of the race problem in its home, where there are the most negroes, and learn much more than they would ever have known had they not sojourned a few months in the 'home of the negro.'

"The more the northern people know of the negro, the less they like him."

ST LOUIS MO STAR

JULY 9, 1917

Poor Police and Soldiers.

Editor The St. Louis Star: It is to be devoutly hoped that our country may never again be confronted by so revolting a spectacle of organized deviltry and foul depravity as presented Monday night in East St. Louis.

No matter how great the provocation may have been, the inhuman atrocities perpetrated by the savage mob are inexcusable. They exemplify the lowest strata of beastly viciousness. No negro could be more degrading, no one, except a moral degenerate or a fiend from hell, could revel in such savage debauchery.

The writer is satisfied that it was not the average citizen of East St Louis, but its large class of underworld vultures, infinitely more detrimental to the town's social, moral and economic welfare than the negro, who participated largely in the damnable blood orgy.

Nevertheless, the massacre and its consequent civic disgrace could have been prevented, had the authorities proceeded against the grasping capitalists, who imported the cheap black labor from the South; or if the police had rounded up the tough negro element, responsible for much disorder and crime. Undoubtedly, gentlemen familiar with politics on the East Side (and the town is politically corrupt to the core) could give us a few interesting reasons for this unpardonable remissness.

But what about the police, who are reported not only to have refused to protect the terrified blacks, but even to have loaned their pistols to maniacs to destroy these unfortunate creatures. Certainly they are cheap imitations of men.

And more disgusting still, what about these brave (?) militiamen, who encouraged and abetted the mob. Splendid types of what an American soldier should not be. Still, this very same militia is trying to fill its ranks by appealing to the broad humanity of men, by reciting the alleged atrocities committed by the Germans in Belgium and Flanders. God help Germany if these apostles of humanity ever set a foot on her soil. Their experience in East St. Louis will qualify them to demonstrate the latest in frightfulness. As a badge of distinction, the government ought to run a broad band of yellow down their backs. They and their ilk personify the contemptuous phrase "tin soldier."

HARRY BERNARD WINKELER.

ST LOUIS MO STAR

JULY 9. 1917

A Negro Speaks.

Editor The St. Louis Star: Being interested in the amazing number of recent outbreaks of every nature, I have decided to write a letter to your columns, hoping that it will serve as an eye-opener to "Americans." I am staggered beyond description by the horrifying events that happened in East St. Louis, Ill. Well, riots are are not only happening in East St. Louis; they are happening all over the country, and they are also resulting in the deaths of "white Americans" as well as "black Americans." From far across the ocean where despots rule there is wafted a sentiment that bids fair to consume this country in its treacherous fury. Aided by the inactivity of some of our deplorable "vote statesmen" who refuse to comment on anything that might cost a vote.

Across the sea, where in some lands the poor classes are generally uneducated and are as a rule treated as swine, there is born in their bosoms a hatred for government. The constant craving of the mothers of these people is anarchy. Low-bred, lowly reared, illiterate, they are allowed to assemble here in droves. And the recent numerous outbreaks are but the rampant riot of that sentiment—"anarchism." So this land is cursed by the cruel despotisms of Europe. These are the true facts surrounding the recent outbreaks. And the sooner real Americans realize and act on these facts, the better it will be, for in a short space of time this sentiment will eventually engulf the country. This is just a sane conclusion.

The colored people do not hold America responsible for this calamity. We know that the American white man would not be guilty of such atrocities Of course there are a few so-called American beasts who participated in this carnage, who would rather burn babies than enlist in the regular army to protect their own homes.

But the colored people fully realize the creed of such brutes, and I can say, speaking for a great number, that we are not prejudiced one iota against the Stars and Stripes by this recent outrage. But we pray that there will be some way to obliterate these foreigners from the land of the free, and by our good deeds bury the memories of such atrocities in shame. We thank the true-blue officials of St. Louis, Mo., for their aid for our people, and also thank the newspapers for their strong editorials denouncing such barbarities. May all Americans realize the true existence and significance of this raving sentiment—"anarchism." And if the black man ever rises in arms it will be against these foreign colonies, not America. As this is the true sentiment of the negro, this information should be worthy of something to an American.

HARRY BOYD.

FORTUNE TELLER CAUSES SCARE

7/18/17

The report circulated in the Elleardsville district of St. Louis, last Saturday night that white residents in the neighborhood of Sumner High School were planning to destroy the building. Chief of Police Young assigned several policeman and detectives to guard the school but the "mob" did not materialize.

St Louis Argus

Special officer Ira Cooper learned that a Mrs. Gibson had visited a fortune teller, who prophesied the fire.

Riots—1917

Seek Bodies Fire Ruins East St. Louis

Twenty-Four Dead Negroes and Three Whites Found—More Believed to Have Perished.

RENEWAL OF RIOTING IS FEARED TO-NIGHT

[illegible]
JULY 11, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Tuesday.—Although surface indications were that the orgy of butchery and incendiarism which cost many lives here and laid whole blocks in ruins, has spent its force, Adjutant General Frank S. Dickson, of Illinois, asserted to-day that he feared there might be more trouble to-night and discussed with Mayor Mollman the advisability of calling for more troops.

The six companies of militia who are on the ground, the Adjutant General explained, are numerically inadequate to guard the wide territory covered by the riots. He feared that even the additional companies, which arrived later, bringing the total number here to 1,500, would not be enough to establish authority.

Estimates of the dead varied widely from a score to 250. At half-past nine o'clock to-day twenty-four bodies had been recovered, including those of three whites. Seventy-four wounded negroes were found.

Bodies Under Debris.

Estimates of the bodies supposed to lie under the acres of ashes and smouldering debris, where fires consumed scores of negro shacks and houses, run into the hundreds.

The city was quiet to-day. Saloons were still closed. Sleepy-eyed militiamen with marks of fire fighting still on their uniforms patrolled the streets and guarded bridges and saloon doors, otherwise the city appeared normal.

There were broken windows here and there, other wreckage and the breeze carried the acrid smell of water soaked embers.

Negroes driven from their homes huddled here and there, seemingly anxious to keep out of sight. Five hundred of them, men, women and children, spent the night at the city jail. Two men were still asleep in one bath tub when the sun rose, and another was slumbering noisily, his chin on his chest, but otherwise bolt upright in a garbage can. The floors were packed with dishevelled refugees.

The monetary loss to the city resulting from the setting of fires in the negro sections of the city will total more than $1,000,000, some estimating it at $3,000,000.

The present trouble was a direct result of the importation of negroes from the South last May, at which time there was a riot in which one white man and several negroes were shot.

The troops called out during the most serious part of the rioting were ordered not to shoot, as they were under civil authority, and some of them had their rifles snatched from them by persons in the mob.

Ordered Not to Fire.

Adjutant General Frank Dickson, in command of the troops here, said they had troops were called out was obtained without firing a shot, he said.

More than 150 negro homes were burned in different sections of the city: eight charred bodies have already been removed from the ruins. The Broadway Theatre was totally destroyed, the loss being $100,000. One hundred loaded freight cars of the Southern Railroad were burned by the infuriated whites, resulting in a loss of $500,000.

After the ringleaders of the white mob had been surrounded and captured by the troops, squads of soldiers were sent through the city to search the homes of whites and negroes alike for firearms; the search resulted in the finding of hundreds of revolvers, rifles and shotguns.

Dr. Thomas L. Barnidge, of Kansas City, representing the Red Cross, arrived here to-day to direct relief work among the negroes whose homes have been burned. He has arranged for quarters for several hundred negroes, but has no provisions with which to feed them. Wounded negroes were removed to hospitals in large motor trucks, which were sent out by Dr. Barnidge for that purpose.

Many shocking scenes of mob violence were reported at intervals throughout the night, women and young girls taking almost as active a part in them as the men and boys.

East St. Louis

OFFICER WHO MAY SEND U. S. TROOPS TO QUELL RIOTING

PHOTO BY HARRIS & EWING

MAJOR GENERAL THOMAS H. BARRY.

EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS COST CITY $715,000

Under Law It Must Pay for 43 Lives and $500,000 Fire Damage.

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS
JULY 6, 1917

BY FRANK E. ARMSTRONG.

[Special Dispatch from a Staff Correspondent.]

East St. Louis, Mo., July 6.—Conservative estimates place the property loss from the riots at $500,000, and it is going to be a hard blow to East St. Louis, for under the riot act the municipality is liable for the financial disaster. The $500,000 is equal to $1,000,000 in normal times, it is contended. Taxes are high in East St. Louis, as they are in virtually every other city in the state, because of heavy war tax and the high cost of everything.

In addition to property destroyed, for which the city must pay, the municipality is liable for a death benefit of $5,000 for each of the known dead. This adds another $215,000, or a total financial loss of $715,000. In the property loss is included thirty-nine freight cars of the Southern railroad, which were loaded with merchandise. They were burned when the torch was applied to shacks in which the colored men lived near the freighthouse of this railroad, which also was destroyed.

Little Headway in Inquiry.

The authorities have made little headway in rounding up those who are responsible for the outrages. Two prominent colored men were taken by the East St. Louis police late yesterday, but they did not have sufficient evidence against them to book them and they are beng held to await further developments. They are N. W. Parden, a former colored assistant state's attorney, and James Vardiman, a colored city detective.

Five white men and ten negroes were fined $200 each to-day on charges of carrying concealed weapons. Unable to pay the fines, they were locked up in the county jail at Belleville.

The St. Louis newspapers are holding Illinois up to ridicule. One of the afternoon papers printed a cartoon with the American eagle humped over and holding in its bill a hangman's noose. The picture was to represent the seal of state and this was the caption: "Seal of the state of Illinois, July 2, 1917." This paper carried an editorial calling upon Gov. Lowden to punish militiamen for alleged inaction.

Another afternoon paper carried on the first page a double column signed article under this headline: "Unscrupulous Politicians Who Shielded Black Dives Are Blamed for Race Riot." This indictment is printed in black face type: "Certain elements among the negroes reached the conclusion they were privileged characters. They openly violated the laws of the city, and they got away with it. White men were robbed by negro women and the thieves were not punished. In numberless cases the victims were the ones arrested."

Police Shakeup Is Demanded.

It is this state of affairs that has prompted the chamber of commerce of East St. Louis to insist upon a shakeup in the police and fire departments and at the mass meeting this afternoon a vigilance committee will be organized to prepare to handle the situation after the militiamen are withdrawn.

Adjt.-Gen. Dickson, who is personally handling the military guard and who has the situation in hand, let the big employers of colored labor understand he is not going to try to induce the 3,000 refugees in St. Louis to return to their jobs in East St. Louis. He will see that they are protected if they return and are law abiding, but he refuses to make a labor employment agency of the militia. The colored men who fled are frightened and the opinion prevails that many of them will not return to their old jobs.

White Laborer Is Killed.

The latest death gives state and municipal authorities a new problem to handle to-day. This time a white laborer, Peter Twardousky, was the victim. He did not halt at the command of a militiaman doing guard duty in the railroad yards and was shot down. He was walking last night with two companions. Private Keating of the 4th regiment of Ohey commanded the three to halt. The two men with Twardousky stopped, but the latter kept on going, paying no heed to the third command to halt from Keating. There was a report of a rifle and Twardousky fell dead. He was married and left six children. This brings the total dead to forty-three.

The shooting of the laborer reflects the tension in the riot ridden city.

Drunken Rowdies Are Blamed.

Drunken rowdies returning from a Sunday carousal fired the spark that has cast a shadow upon the honor of Illinois. Evidence to this end has been laid before the East St. Louis chamber of commerce by a Baptist minister, who made an investigation of the first shooting early Monday morning that started the riots, when two members of the East St. Louis police department were killed.

Here is the story as told to the correspondent of The Daily News by a member of the chamber of commerce:

"A gang of rowdies who were returning home late Sunday night," said this man, "opened fire with revolvers and riddled the colored church, in which its members were gathered for Sunday night services. The attack caused panic among the colored men and women and the lights were turned out. These men were riding in an automobile.

"Hurried consultations were held by the colored men and they decided to prepare for another attack. The church bell was tolled and more members of the church gathered. There was much excitement. The police department learned of the state of affairs and an automobile load of policemen was sent to the church to investigate the trouble. The police rode in a car of the same make as the one used by the rowdies, and the colored men when they saw the machine coming thought the rowdies were returning. There was a volley of shots from the colored men and Detective Sergeant Samuel Coppedge and Frank Wodley of the police department fell. The mischief was started and the story of what followed is known.

[illegible]
JULY 16, 1917
[illegible] CONN. COURANT

A NEAR HORROR NOT SEEN.

President Wilson appears to be able to see evils which are far off much more readily than those that are close at hand. He hasn't yet seen the bloody and cruel riots that took place at East St. Louis during the first days of July, where an unknown number of negroes of both sexes and all ages were shot, pounded and burned to death, but he saw the forcible deportation of some eleven hundred members of the so-called Industrial Workers of the World from Bisbee the day after it occurred, when he personally telegraphed to Governor Campbell that he regarded "such actions with grave apprehension," although Arizona is nearly three times as far from Washington, D. C., as Illinois.

The "Christian Register," whose editor, Bradley Gilman, although not Southern born, has relatives living in the South and is thoroughly conversant with social life there, commented last Saturday upon what it describes as "the hideous outrage against law and humanity in East St. Louis," in part, as follows:—

The testimony of eye-witnesses shows that nothing is to be learned among white people of this city from the cruelties and brutalities of foreign conquest. No tribes of any name or time have ever outdone the white men and women who burned colored men, women, and children the other day, in this American city. Nothing more revolting was ever charged against negroes than was done by these white people. The organiza-

tion of the manhood of the nation for the protection of human life and liberty on the seas and for the deliverance of democracy in the world will be needed at home after its task abroad is done. While our fellow-creatures in the United States are hunted and tortured as if they were wild beasts, government can scarcely be called democratic.

"It is always to be kept in mind hat these atrocities were not inicted by the South, or in the South, pon a small and backward and in me respects a helpless people, who, fter all, are, in law, citizens of this ountry, born here, and having no her civil life to look forward to cept such as they get here. These rocities were carried through in the ate of Illinois, and by white men elonging to this Northern state.

There is a class of people in the outh who too often see red when a egro is charged with some infamous ime, and, without waiting for a y oof, and in defiance of their own urts and judicial safeguards, they oceed to lynch their trembling vicm without regard to whether he is nocent or guilty. This is bad enough, and ignorant enough, and lawless enough. But in East St. Louis no negro was accused of any sort of a crime until the rioting had actually begun. The white men of that town, which has some 60,000 population, simply turned out in a mob to kill and to burn every human being that had a black skin. Age or lack of age did not cool their ferocity. The qualities of individual decency and responsibility, when sheltered in negro form, placed no check upon their thirst for blood. The white women helped the white men in this work of torture and death. It was an undertaking of extirpation, and the white women did their bit.

Carlos F. Hurd, a staff reporter of the "St. Louis Post Dispatch," who had hastened over the river from the neighboring Missouri town to see what was going on, and who watched for an hour and a half what he calls the "massacre of helpless negroes," at Broadway and Fourth streets, in East St. Louis, "where a black skin was a death warrant," says this of it:—

"I have read of St. Bartholomew's night, I have heard stories of the latter-day crimes of the Turks in Armenia, and I have learned to loathe the German army for its barbarity in Belgium. But I do not believe that Moslem fanaticism or Prussian frightfulness could perpetrate murders of more deliberate brutality than those which I saw committed, in daylight, by citizens of the State of Abraham Lincoln.

"I saw man after man, with hands raised, pleading for his life, surrounded by groups of men—men who had never seen him before and knew nothing about him except that he was black—and saw them administer the historic sentence of intolerance, death by stoning. I saw one of these men, almost dead from a savage shower of stones, hanged with a clothesline, and when it broke, hanged with a rope which held. Within a few paces of the pole from which he was suspended, four other negroes lay dead or dying, another having been removed, dead, a short time before. I saw the pockets of two of these negroes searched, without the finding of any weapon."

Mr. Hurd saw only one white man who had the appearance of being a business or professional man of standing, and he also killed his negro. This well-dressed white man pitched a flat stone upon the head of a negro who was already wounded and covered with blood, but who still had strength enough to raise himself on one elbow and plead for mercy, in such a manner as to break his neck. "It was no crowd of hot-headed youths," Mr. Hurd says. "Young men were in the greater number, but there were the middle-aged, no less active in the task of destroying the life of every discoverable black man." Finally, in summing up the look of the crowd, Mr. Hurd says that "it was a shirtsleeve gathering, and the men were mostly workingmen, except for some who had the aspect of mere loafers."

Mr. Hurd gives a great many more details, but they are all of the same tenor. A slight variation appears in regard to the burning houses. The negro families had their choice in regard to these—they could come out and be shot to death or stay within and be burned to a cinder. Mr. Hurd of course could not see what was done around the corner or further on in the streets—he reports nothing but what came within the range of his own eyes.

Was there no compassion at all in that murderous crowd? Oh, yes, a little; but it was useless. In regard to this Mr. Hurd says:—

"I would be more pessimistic about my fellow-Americans than I am today if I could not say that there were other workingmen who protested against the senseless slaughter. I would be ashamed of myself if I could not say that I forgot my place as a professional observer and joined in such protests. But I do not think any verbal objection had the slightest effect. Only a volley of lead would have stopped those murderers. 'Get a "nigger," ' was the slogan, and it was varied by the recurrent cry, 'Get another!' "

It would be strange if Mr. Wilson had not heard of this vile and cruel outburst of racial passion, and stranger still, if, having knowledge of it, it had failed to reach his sense of justice, or at least to touch his sensitive and compassionate heart. The interest of party politics cannot very well have closed his mind to this bloody tragedy in our common American life, for it took place on Northern soil and under the Northern social atmosphere. The way was thus open for all of Mr. Wilson's humanitarian emotions and convictions and aspirations to find full vent in a burst of horror that so foul a deed could be perpetrated in this democratic country. But for some reason that channel was clogged, and he has not had a word to say about it. The far-off horrors evidently catch Mr. Wilson's eye more quickly than those that are not only near at hand, but that are within our own jurisdiction and a part of our own social and political life.

HIRING OF NEGROES IS UNDER INQUIRY BY CONGRESSMEN

Manager of East St. Louis Plant Says 100 More Were Worked in April Than in November.

TROUBLE FROM POLITICS

C. B. Fox Tells Investigators Every Project Soon Takes a Political Phase.

ST. LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
OCTOBER 29, 1917

C. B. Fox, general manager of the Aluminum Ore Co., was questioned this morning by the congressional committee which is investigating the causes of the East St. Louis race riot of July 2. The employing of a large number of negroes at the aluminum plant at a time when white employes were striking has been considered one cause of the feeling against negroes.

Fox said to the committee that the aluminum plant had 381 negro employes last April, as compared with 280 in the previous November. The reason for the increase, he said, was that many men of foreign descent went East to work in munition plants, where they could make more money.

No Time for "Welfare Work."

Congressman Foster asked Fox if he had paid attention to the social condition of his employes.

"Since the war began," Fox replied, "I have been too busy to pay much attention to anything but the immediate business of the company.

"I believe," he continued, "that a man may be a better citizen if he attends strictly to his own business, and leaves other people's business alone."

"Then you think it is none of your business what happens to your men after they leave your plant, or what their conditions are?" asked Congressman Foster.

"You can do too much welfare work," was the reply.

"Do you think too much welfare work has been done in East St. Louis?" Congressman Raker asked. Fox replied that there had been very little.

Blight of Politics.

"Ths deplorable social and moral conditions in East St. Louis have been due to politics," Fox said, when he had an opportunity to express his personal opinions more at length. "No question of any sort comes up in East St. Louis without soon getting into politics. If one-tenth of the energy devoted to politics were given to civic betterment, East St. Louis would be a different place."

Fox said, however, that one of his reasons for not undertaking social welfare work was that he wished to keep out of politics.

He was asked whether he and officials of the American Steel Foundry Co. held a meeting last spring to plan to employ 1500 negroes. He said no such meeting was held.

When asked whether East St. Louis corporations refused to employ men who were suing other corporations for personal injuries, he said the feeling was that each plant should take care of the men injured there.

Packing Plants in Control.

Fox was asked about the Government of National City, the incorporated city which contains the stockyards. He said it was well known that the packing plants control the city government of National City.

He said the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce was composed of employers of labor, and said in reply to questions that it had not tried to establish harmonious relations with labor unions. "I never considered this a labor union town," Fox commented. This caused laughter from the audience, as the strength of labor unions in East St. Louis is notable.

NEGRO CHILD CAST INTO BURNING HOUSE

By Mob at St. Louis—Witnesses Tell of Horrors That Occurred During the Racial Outbreak.

10-23-17 Constitution

East St. Louis, Ill., October 22.—Testimony that during the race riots here July 2 a mob threw a negro child into a burning house after it had escaped from the flames was given at the congressional inquiry into the riots today by Edwin Popkess, a reporter of a St. Louis, Mo., newspaper. He said he also saw four or five national guardsmen shoot and kill two negroes who ran from a burning house.

Lawless Element and Saloons.

Inquiry into political conditions in East St. Louis was continued.

Paul Y. Anderson, a newspaper reporter, who testified Saturday, resumed his story today. He said that before Federal Judge Landis ordered a reformation last November, many saloons in the city were conducted in a disorderly manner and were the chief breeding places of crime.

The lawless element that frequented these saloons, he thought, was the same element that took part in the race riots.

"Why didn't the business men of East St. Louis wipe out the lawless parasites?" asked Congressman Raker.

Anderson replied that the lawless element had been so powerful for years that political parties played for its support.

He described the housing conditions of many negroes in East St. Louis as insanitary.

"Yes," interjected Congressman Cooper, "I suppose the houses were not fit for dogs to live in. It seems cruel that people willing to live under such conditions will work for a lower wage than those who demand better homes."

Manager for Morris Grilled.

John W. Paton, general manager of the Morris & Co., packing plant, said his plants had a wage scale.

"Yes," said Congressman Cooper, "you have a scale, and Swift's has a scale and Armour's a scale, and they are all the same. You think that is all right, but in your judgment the laboring men have no right to agree as to a minimum wage."

"Well," replied Mr. Paton, "this is a free country, and every man has a right to sell his labor at any price he deems fit."

Mr. Paton said the mayor told the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce meeting on July 2 that "police work had got beyond his control."

Congressman Raker here interrupted and said: "You are a big, strong man, physically and mentally. Why didn't you go and get fifty rifles and stand between that mob and the men and women they were murdering?"

"That is just what we thought," said Paton, "but we thought the mayor and the police ought to take care of the situation."

"But," said Congressman Raker, "you knew they were not doing it, so why didn't you men do it?"

"Well, to tell the truth," replied Paton, "we were afraid for our lives."

Riots—1917

SEVERAL INDICTED FOR RACE RIOTING NOW GUARDSMEN

Six or Seven From East St. Louis Have Become Members of First Illinois Artillery.

QUESTION OF ARREST UP

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
AUGUST 22, 1917

39 Persons So Far Taken Into Custody—Eight Policemen or Former Policemen.

It was learned today that among the indictments returned against East St. Louisans charged with participation in the massacre of negroes on July 2 are six or seven against men who have since enlisted in the Third Artillery Regiment and are now with the regiment at Springfield.

The question whether they shall be arrested has been referred to Attorney-General Brundage at Springfield. They are understood to be charged with conspiracy and rioting.

Deputy Sheriffs continued today arresting East St. Louisans against whom capiases have been issued. Up to 3 p. m. they had arrested 39 men Those arrested today are:

John Mapeer, Washington Park, conspiracy, rioting and assault to kill.

Gus Masserang, 1112 Piggot' avenue, conspiracy and rioting.

William Wilkins, 1916 Baugh avenue, conspiracy and rioting.

Clarence Welsch, 14 years old, 1240 Broadway, charged with rioting and conspiracy.

Robert Roach, 19, son of William Roach, former Superintendent of the East St. Louis Free Employment Bureau, 919 Millet street, charged with rioting and conspiracy.

William Lockett, 54, 2023 Walnut street, St. Louis, a negro, charged with attempted arson.

Among the men arrested yesterday were eight members and four former members of the Police Department, including a Lieutenant, two Sergeants, five patrolmen and a patrol wagon driver.

The following arrests were made late yesterday:

Dan Walsh, conspiracy, rioting, arson and assault to kill.

Chester Certerer, 1304 North Thirteenth street, conspiracy, rioting, arson and assault to kill.

Michael Enoff (or Evanhoff) of 1816 Natalie avenue, conspiracy, rioting, arson and assault to kill.

John Rogers, 918 Lake avenue, conspiracy.

George Zeman, 1843 Natalie avenue, conspiracy, rioting, arson and assault to kill.

Edward Otto, 1913 North Nineteenth street, conspiracy, rioting, arson and assault to kill.

Samuel Bauchens, 1320 Gross avenue, conspiracy, rioting, arson and assault to kill.

William Sheers, 1318 Gross avenue, conspiracy, rioting, arson and assault to kill.

James Schwab, 210 Exchange avenue, conspiracy and rioting.

John Healy, Police Sergeant, 326 North Thirteenth street, charged with rioting and conspiracy.

Fred Otto, policeman, 1762 North Twenty-first street, rioting and conspiracy.

Floyd Combs, policeman, 1512 Ohio avenue, rioting and conspiracy.

Cornelius P. Hickey, former Lieutenant of Police, rioting and conspiracy.

Henry Grimes, policeman, 118 St. Clair avenue, conspiracy.

Albert L. Wilson, police chauffeur 524 North Thirty-fifth street, conspiracy, murder and rioting.

Dr. I. H. King, 43, negro physician, 1700 Market avenue, murder and assault with intent to commit murder.

Felix Wiercick, 32, 323 Bowman avenue, coal dealer, rioting, assault with intent to commit murder and conspiracy.

Masserang says he is unable to understand the indictment against him because he was shot as he drove through an alley near his home on the night of July 1. He says he was ordered to halt and was asked whether he was white or black. He put on speed and was fired on with a shotgun. Twenty-seven shot took effect and he says he was in a hospital two weeks.

East St. Louis

MURDER AND ARSON IN HIGH CARNIVAL AT EAST ST. LOUIS FOR DAY AND NIGHT

Negro District Was Fired and as the Blacks Fled to Escape the Flames They Were Shot to Death by Hundreds of Waiting White Men.

RIFLES TAKEN BY MOBS; NATIONAL GUARDSMEN STOOD AND WATCHED

Estimates of Number of Dead Negroes Range From 75 to 250—Property Loss Will Total About $3,000,000—When Rioting Was at Its Height White Women and Girls Joined in Attacks on the Negroes.

6/3/17

East St. Louis, Ill., July 2.—Negroes to an unknown number were killed by white mobs which worked their will in East St. Louis today and tonight. Estimates of the dead range from 75 to 250.

State's Attorney Schaumloeffel, of St. Clair county, drove through the riot-swept district tonight with Police Inspector Walsh, of St. Louis, Mo. The state's attorney estimated that the dead negroes would number 250. All estimates, however, are conjectural.

NEGROES SHOT FLEEING FIRE.

The negroes were shot and killed as they fled from their burning homes which had been set on fire by white mobs. The exact number who perished in the burning houses, if any, is unknown and will not be ascertained until morning when the ruins are searched.

Military rule was proclaimed at 8 o'clock tonight, and at the same time 300 white men were arrested and locked up at police headquarters. Negro quarters in various parts of the city are on fire and the flames reach the very edge of the business district.

Hundreds of whites stood around the edges of the burning districts and fired at the negroes as they fled from their homes.

After military rule had been proclaimed, the soldiers put more vigor into their attempts to quell the mob.

ONE NEGRO ATTACKED BY 75 WHITE MEN.

Seventy-five white men attacked a negro in front of a drug store downtown and shot him twice and attempted to drag him to a pole. The troops charged with fixed bayonets and the mob scattered.

With this show of force, the rioters in part quieted down. Troops stood guard at all corners and kept the crowds moving.

At 6:30 o'clock fire broke out in the district known as the "alley." This fire came perilously near the big railroad yards of East St. Louis. At 9 o'clock four more negroes were shot. At 10 o'clock it appeared as if the "valley" district was doomed to destruction. This is the third large area to be burned.

The property loss estimated by City Attorney Fekete at $3,000,000.

Forty injured negroes and six injured white men were in one hospital and almost an equal number in another.

At 11 p. m. another fire had broken out in the extreme northern portion of the city. This brought the burning sections up to four, lighting the entire city with their glare.

Colonel Tripp, assistant adjutant general, stated shortly before midnight that the rioting crowds had for the most part dispersed.

Nearly 500 negroes, men, women and children, are quartered in the city hall and the police station.

At frequent intervals all evening and until late tonight trucks brought negro refugees from burning sections to augment the group at these refugee buildings, where a strong guard of troops was stationed.

GUARDSMEN SENT TO MEET NEGROES.

When a report came to military authorities that negro inhabitants at Brooklyn, Ill., a city entirely populated by negroes, were moving on East St. Louis, a truck full of guardsmen was sent to the "black" bridge to meet any attack that might be attempted.

At the same time another truck load of soldiers was rushed to a corner near the postoffice, where negroes, barricaded in upstairs quarters, had been firing at soldiers standing guard in the street below.

The worst property damage was done along the tracks of the Southern Railroad company, where the Southern warehouse and between 100 and 150 cars, many of them loaded with merchandise, were consumed by flames. The damage here was estimated at between $300,000 and $500,000.

The Broadway theater, valued at $100,000, was entirely destroyed and at 11 p. m. the flames were moving steadily along the tracks, almost unhindered.

Colonel Tripp stated at 11:30 tonight that twenty-three companies of state troops would be in the city before midnight, all but three companies of which were then on guard. The combined strength of the troops to combat trouble tomorrow, he said, would be several thousand. Colonel Tripp early tonight rescued a negro from the mob and City Attorney Fekete later rescued another.

Vast clouds of smoke rolled across the sky tonight from the burning district. The flames made some of the downtown streets as light as day and now and then a yelling mob rushed down a street in pursuit of a negro or in search of new excitement. National guardsmen, loaded in automobile trucks, dashed after the mob. The shouting died down occasionally as bewildered people walked up and down the streets wondering where the last outbreak occurred.

Negro Women With Children.

The fire started about 6 o'clock this evening and spread rapidly. Soon flames, visible for miles, were shooting into the sky. Hundreds of negro women, most of them carrying bundles that held their most precious belongings and leading small children, fled across the bridge to shelter and safety with friends on the Missouri side.

Telephone wires were cut early in the evening. As telegraph and telephone poles caught fire other wires went down.

The mobs in East St. Louis were swelled by hundreds of people who early in the evening crossed the river from St. Louis, Mo. This added such a menace to the situation that at 8:30 o'clock the bridges were closed. This forced hundreds of residents of suburban towns to stay in St. Louis for the night.

As soon as street car traffic ended at 7 p. m. crowds walked across the bridge into East St. Louis by the thousands.

The mobs got into a lynching mood tonight. One negro was strung up on a pole, but was rescued just in time to save his life. Soldiers rescued still another negro who was being dragged through the streets.

The rioting is a recrudescence of race troubles that occurred here a month ago, following the importation of large numbers of negro laborers from the south.

White women and girls, joining with the men, dragged negro women from the street cars in the downtown district.

At six o'clock white mobs began to set fire to the homes in the negro quarter, and at 7:15 twenty houses were burning.

White Girls Drag Negro Woman.

Two young white girls tonight boarded a street car and dragged a negro woman to the street. The negro woman attempted to break away, but one of the young girls took off her shoe and pounded her over the head. National guardsmen rescued her.

At 8:30 o'clock a mob of 300 armed men charged into a negro district on Third street with flaming torches. Before they could start a new blaze, however, two hundred guardsmen charged with fixed bayonets. The troops fired a volley over the heads of the mob, which dispersed.

A battle between whites and blacks broke out at the east entrance to the St. Louis municipal bridge. Guardsmen hurried there in trucks and ended the combat. One of the white men killed tonight was Tom Moore, of Granite City. He was standing beside a soldier when a bullet struck him.

Two white men tied a rope around the neck of a negro and started to pull him into the air. The rope broke and the white men fell flat on their backs. The negro dropped to the ground dead.

As three negroes were trying to escape from a burning building a mob spied them. One negro was hanged to a telephone pole and the other two were shot. The three bodies were left in the street.

State Troopers Disarmed.

State troopers were disarmed by the mobs in many instances and together with the police seemed powerless before the rioters.

The disorder, which began when a mob of two hundred negroes fired on an automobile load of policemen last night, killing one, reached a climax in the broad daylight this afternoon. In this outbreak three negro men and one white man were killed, two white men and two negroes were shot and wounded, and twenty-three others so badly beaten and stoned that they were taken

hospitals.

night, with the saloons closed and street car service stopped by order of the authorities, national guardsmen began escorting truck loads of negroes across the river.

The two white men who were shot and the one who was killed were victims of stray bullets.

Sixteen guardsmen were disarmed by members of the mob, who calmly asked the soldiers to give them the weapons lest the guardsmen "hurt some one in the crowd."

Mayor Mollman ordered the saloons closed at noon and it was hoped that this measure would prevent any serious outbreak tonight.

The guardsmen, according to the commander, Major William Klauser, patrolled the streets with rifles, but were under instructions to confine aggressive measures to the bayonet. During the rioting of the afternoon, no member of the mob was seriously hurt by a guardsman, and the outbreaks continued in the heart of the city.

The immediate cause of the rioting today was the outbreak of negroes late last night, but for several days there had been evidences of bad blood, and on Saturday night several minor clashes between whites and blacks occurred.

Negroes Fire on Officers.

The clashes Saturday night apparently alarmed the negro quarter of the city, or at least gave agitators a chance to organize the blacks for fighting. When word was telephoned to police headquarters that the ringing of a church bell had called the armed negroes together, an automobile loaded with police left for the scene to disperse the crowd. The officers were greeted with a volley. Detective Sergeant Coppedge was killed and three policemen were wounded. One detective, Frank Wodley, now is in the hospital in a critical condition. The police chauffeur also was wounded. Jay Long, a white man, was wounded in an earlier attack.

Police reinforcements early this morning dispersed the mob of negroes and shortly after 3 a. m. Mayor Mollman asked Governor Lowden to send national guardsmen here to preserve order.

Two companies of the guard arrived about 9:30 and were assigned to duty in the negro quarter. Up to that hour the streets were quiet and it seemed as though the day would pass quietly.

The first trouble occurred when a negro appeared at Broadway and Collinsville avenue, one of the busiest corners in the city, and an important street car transfer point. A white man fired at him five times. Two of the shots took effect, one in the arm and one in the leg. As the crowd, thinking the negro was dead, fell back, he jumped up and ran.

A little later a white man standing in front of the Illmo hotel, fired at a negro, but missed him and wounded a white man, Louis Haege, aged 65.

Mob Cowed Officers.

The police arrested the man who fired the shot, but the threatening mob forced the officers to release him.

One of the national guard companies then was ordered from the negro quarter to the business section, but the arrival of the troops seemed to arouse the increasing mobs to further aggression.

No accurate count of the number of negroes attacked was obtainable, many, of course, getting away with slight injuries.

At 1:30 the rioting grew more serious. A car was stopped, the trolley pulled from the wire and a mob invaded the coach. One negro was taken off and shot. He died in an ambulance. While this disturbance was raging another car appeared. The car was halted and women and girls boarded it, and seizing negro women, dragged them into the streets, where they were beaten.

A few minutes later one black was shot in the head. Another negro man died in an ambulance from a wound in the head.

Some of the men in the mob began to fire. William Keyser, a hardware merchant, was killed by a stray bullet.

One negro was shot and killed as he was waiting for a train to take him out of town.

About 5 o'clock a mob raided a pawn shop and carried away rifles and revolvers.

Race Troubles Began in May.

The race troubles here began late in May as a result of the heavy influx of negro labor. Labor leaders then expressed a fear that the negro labor was being imported to break anticipated strikes during the summer.

On May 28 a crowd of white men demanded of the city council that the negro immigration be stopped. After the meeting adjourned race riots occurred.

The next day state troops arrived. There was considerable disturbance the night of May 29, two white men and three negroes being shot, but within a day or two order was restored and a few days later the troops were withdrawn.

An investigation by the state council of defense was made and they reported that labor agents had induced negroes to come here from the south. This report was made public last Saturday. Up to that time there had been no serious indications of a renewal of the rioting.

CLAIMS ILLINOIS MOB LAW IS DEFECTIVE

Doubtful if Riot Victims Can Recover Under It; Should Be Amended

By J. M. Batchman, Staff Correspondent

St. Louis, Mo., April 5.—Since the riots in East St. Louis the public has wondered what would be done toward securing damages for the lives lost and the property destroyed. The Springfield, Ill., riot raised the same question. That the people of the state occupy a doubtful position before the law and there is a serious question as to what protection the law really gives, is made plain by the following comment which your correspondent secured from Attorney Homer G. Phillips of this city, one of the foremost lawyers in this section and a man who has given much study to the riot cases, and upon whose shoulders much of this burden has been thrown. Attorney Phillips in this comment has shown the serious defects in the present statute which should be speedily remedied by the Race people of the state. Lawyer Phillip's opinion, which agrees with that of other lawyers whom I have interviewed, follows:

"Complying with your request for a comment on the statute in Illinois, entitled 'An Act to Suppress Mob Violence:'

"What I shall have to say is directed particularly to Sections 1, 4 and 5 of that act, which are as follows:

"Section 1. Be it enacted by the people of the state of Illinois, represented in the general assembly: That any collection of individuals, five or more in number, assembled for the unlawful purpose of offering violence to the person or property of anyone supposed to have been guilty of a violation of the law, or for the purpose of exercising correctional powers or regulative powers over the person or persons by violence, and without lawful authority, shall be regarded as a 'mob.'

"Section 4. Any person or persons composing a mob under the provisions of this act, who shall by violence inflict material damage to the property or serious injury to the person of any other person upon the pretext of exercising correctional powers over such person or persons, by violence and without authority of law, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and shall suffer imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding five years; and any person suffering material damage to property or injury to person by a mob shall have an action against the county or city in which such injury is inflicted, for such damages as he may sustain to an amount not exceeding five thousand dollars.

"Section 5. The surviving spouse, lineal heirs, or adopted children of any such other person or persons who, before the loss of life, were dependent for support upon any other person who shall hereinafter suffer death by lynching at the hands of a mob, in any county or city of this state, may recover from such county or city damages for injury sustained by reason of the loss of life of such person, to a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars.

"Section 1 defines what constitutes a mob under the laws of the state of Illinois, and there is no doubt as to its meaning in this regard, but the doubt arises as to whether this section of the law can be made to apply to the facts and occurrences growing out of the riot in East St. Louis on July 2, 1917. This section refers to an unlawful assembly of persons 'for the purpose of offering violence to the person or property of anyone supposed to have been guilty of a violation of the law.' It must be remembered that none of the persons who lost their lives or were personally injured or had their property destroyed was 'supposed to have been guilty of a violation of the law.' The intent of the writer of this section must have contemplated that only persons who were supposed to have committed some crime would be the victims of the wrath of a mob. The latter part of the section is also doubtful and it places the burden upon the one claiming the protection of this section to show that the persons who unlawfully assemble and do the acts referred to in the first part of the section did them 'for the purpose of exercising correctional powers or regulative powers,' etc. So that it will be seen that a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois must be had before it is definitely known what meaning or construction will be given this section and whether it is broad enough to benefit the unfortunate victims of the riot of last July.

"The first part of Section 4 being the penal part of the act, is unnecessary to comment upon, but the latter part is the most doubtful part of the entire act, as to its real meaning. This section provides that 'Any person so suffering material damage to property or injury to person by a mob shall have an action against the county or city in which such injury was inflicted.' It will be noticed that the disjunctive 'or' is used—'county or city'—the doubt herein is, which? Does the action lie against the county and not the city or against the city and not the county? In other words, if the violence to a citizen or to property happens within the territorial limits of the city, is only the city liable, or is it meant that the county is only liable when the damage to person or property happens outside the corporate limits of the city? If in this connection the conjunction 'and' or the word 'either' city or county were used, there would be no doubt about whether one would sue the county or city. It is also well to remember that there is no city in the state of Illinois that is not within a county.

"This act is taken from a similar statute in the state of Ohio. The Ohio statute places the responsibility upon the county and the county alone. The Illinois statute attempts to go further and in doing so makes this part of the statute ambiguous. This section not having been passed on by the Supreme Court of Illinois, it becomes a mere matter of opinion as to what construction this court will place upon it.

"Section 5 limits the right of recovery to three classes: First, surviving spouse (husband or wife); second, lineal heirs (such as father and son), and third, adopted children, who were dependent upon any person who should be lynched. The limitation of right of recovery to these three classes will have the effect of great injustice being done to many who lost relatives in the East St. Louis riot. Under this section a brother cannot recover for a sister, nor a sister for a brother, because they are not lineal heirs; they are collateral heirs; nor can a father or mother recover for the death of a child, even though they are lineal heirs, unless that father or mother was dependent upon the child for support. It will doubtless occur to you that usually children are dependent upon their parents and not parents upon children. Yet, unless the survivor of such person losing their life by lynching was dependent, this act gives no right of recovery. The only part of the statute the meaning of which is clear is that part which provides for the removal from office of a sheriff of a county where a prisoner is lynched while under his custody, and this section has been construed by the Supreme Court of Illinois and held to be constitutional.

"This law should be amended and that part of Section 1 relative to correctional powers changed so that its meaning will be clearly stated, and the latter part of Section 4 should be changed and the doubt removed as to liability. The classifications mentioned in Section 5 should be broadened and the doubt whether the cause of action lies against the city or county eliminated.

"From the reading of these sections one gets the impression that it was the intent of the author to lessen the possibility of the lynching of persons charged with crime by providing a penalty for such act by removal from office of the officer who is charged by law with the custody of such person and for his failure to protect such person. To this extent the law is beneficial, but where the author attempts to go further and provide for compensation the doubt and ambiguities are created, so that the beneficial results from this law are as yet matters for judicial construction, and until then it will not be known whether Illinois has 'an act to suppress mob violence' which affords an adequate remedy and protection to all persons who suffer as a result of mob violence."

TEN NEGROES CONVICTED OF KILLING POLICEMAN

Murder of Officer Coppedge Precipitated Riots in East St. Louis.

Belleville, Ill., October 7.—Ten of the thirteen negroes who have been on trial here for a week, charged with the murder of Detective Samuel Coppedge on the morning of July 2 last, which precipitated the East St. Louis, Ill. race riots, were convicted today and sentenced to fourteen years each in the penitentiary. Three were acquitted. Those found guilty were: Fayette Parker, Othaniel Peoples, George Roberts, Horace Thomas, Marshall Alexander, Dee Smothermann, Albert Hughes, Bud Townsend, Will Palmer and Charles Foster.

Those acquitted were: Thomas Tackett, Guy Moore and Lester Fowler.

Smothermann collapsed when the verdict was read. He had offered an alibi, claiming he was at the wake of Othaniel Peoples' mother when Coppedge was killed.

The jury, which was given the cases at 11:30 o'clock last night, announced at 1:30 this afternoon that an agreement had been reached. Judge G. A. Crow was summoned from his home and responded promptly, his wife sitting with him on the bench when the verdict was read. Only court attaches, the prisoners and newspaper men were in the court room to hear the verdict. Outside between the courthouse and jail stood wives and relatives of the prisoners. Many of them wept when the negroes were led to the courtroom.

The verdict was handed to Judge Crow by the foreman of the jury. None of the defense was present and for this reason the judge polled the jury. All affirmed the verdict.

James A. Farmer, special assistant attorney general representing the state, told the court that the state had other charges against the three negroes acquitted and Judge Crow ordered them remanded to jail.

Attorneys for the state expressed satisfaction at the verdict, the cases of the negroes being the first of the riot cases tried. Tomorrow hearings in the cases of the white men indicted in connection with the riots will be opened.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

FROM A SOUTHERN POINT OF VIEW

[This article, written by a member of "The Tribune" staff who is a native Illinoisan, but who has lived a number of years in the south, seeks to suggest a few of the reasons why the north, with comparatively few Negroes, has many race riots with much loss of life while the south, with its many Negroes, has almost none.]

FIRST of all, the southerner would say, the north does not understand the Negro; the south does. Next, the Negro does not understand the northerner, yet the southerner to him is a part of the existence. To the northerner the Negro in large numbers is something new. The Negro has been with the southerner for generations.

One of the first memories of the southern child is a smiling black face, that was kind and good through baby years. That old mammy would fight for that white child, pet it, wipe away tears, and kiss away pains. She would love her "white chile" as she loved none of their own black picaninnies.

That child's father was "my white man" to the whole Negro family, perhaps. He was ready to get up in the night if any member of the Negro household was in distress. The white child's mother was "my white mamma," very likely, to the ebony faced old nurse.

It is hard to turn against a race when members of that race have worked with you and for you and have leaned upon you and have reared your children and have been faithful to you for two or three generations. And that is why the south cannot understand when it reads of race riots in the north with its scores of dead.

In the south when a Negro offends that one Negro is picked out and punished. Often it is a lynching. But the south does not lynch generally or promiscuously. It lynches individually and to the point. Often true southern Negroes will help at the lynching, for they feel that this criminal has offended against their race.

The police use Negroes as peace officers in the south. A Negro peace officer does not try to arrest white men. His work is distinct. His task lies only among his race. He is generally a good peace officer. The southerner knows that the Negro is not a coward. He can fight well and die well.

"Lock a safe against a Negro and he may try to get in, but leave it unlocked and tell him to guard it and he'll stay out and keep every one else out," is a common saying.

In the south the Negro has his own place in the street cars and on trains. Apparently he approves it. He is at least more comfortable and more at home among his own. In the south the Negro as a rule is not segregated by law in particular parts of the cities. He segregates himself. Those who do not live in back yards take up homes in communities. They want their evenings for songs and dances among themselves. They can laugh and be happy on a loaf of bread and the leftovers from the white man's kitchen.

The Negro has his separate schools. His children are taught in those schools, as they have been taught by their mothers, "mammies" of white children, that they cannot hope to attain social position equal to that of the whites.

A white man who treats a Negro as a social equal loses caste in that Negro's eyes. It is beyond understanding to him. The true southern Negro takes his hat in his hand when he addresses a white man and tips his hat to the white man he knows upon the street. He likes the white man the better for it.

The white man of the south is giving the Negro children good schools. He wants to help them all he can. He realizes that the Negro is a better workman or a better servant if he is educated.

There are "bad Negroes" in the south, but they lose the protection of the southern white man and their lot is increasingly hard.

The beginning of the trouble when a Negro comes north starts at the center of the Ohio river. One will poke another knowingly in the ribs and will say:

"Nigger, youall's jes' as good as white folks now."

"Sho is," replies the second.

"Yo' can set wif' 'em in de cahyars an' eat in they's res'rants. Youall's white now, white!"

It is the millennium, the jubilee, the kingdom come. Perhaps the simple minded black—for they have children's brains though their heads are old—will say in glee, "Le's see."

And they may go front to the next car and try it on.

If you will watch your Negroes in Chicago street cars and elevated trains you will note that very often one of them will stand up rather than sit down with a white person. Others, plainly uncomfortable, will flout themselves and take a seat beside a white boldly with an "I'm-as-good-as-you" air.

Both they and the whites would be more comfortable, no doubt, if "each had his end" of the car, as in the south.

There's a favorite story in the south. They tell it to almost every northern man as soon as he gets there. It shows, maybe, that the southerner does not understand the "Yankee" even yet. The story goes:

An old black mammy, who had been a slave, was taken into a Boston household. [A story like this is always laid in Boston by the true southerner—since abolition days.] They sat her down at the table with the family and the conversation ran something like this:

"You were a slave, were you not, Mrs. Johnson?"

"Yassa, yassa," said Sallie, who had been called "Mrs." then by a white man for the first time in her life.

"Did your master beat you?"

"Massa beat me! No, massa was always good to me."

"But you belonged to him—just like his horses."

"Sho did. Sho did."

And here the white man is supposed to hold in reserve his torpedo-like proof of the master's iniquity.

"But he never let you sit down and eat with him, as we do here, did he?"

Now comes mammy back with fire in her eye.

"Lawsy, no!" she replied in horror. "My massa wor a gentleman! Let a nigger eat wid him!"

That story is supposed to be so good that the southern Negro likes it himself. Which goes to show that still the north is north and the south is south and the Negro is getting along best where he is known and understood. He has to come away from his own "white folks" to find his worst troubles.

PASTORS CALL ON MOLLMAN TO RESIGN

East St. Louis Alliance Wants Mayor to Give Up Office During Period of Race Riot Indictment.

SHALL STAY IN SADDLE, HE SAYS

ST. LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
SEPTEMBER 11, 1917

Committee of One Hundred on Record as Favoring the Adoption of Commission Government Form.

Mayor Fred W. Mollman of East St. Louis, who was indicted Saturday on charges growing out of the East St. Louis race riots last July, was called upon yesterday by the East St. Louis Pastors' Alliance to resign during the period of the indictment.

Mollman answered the request of the ministers when he said to a GLOBE-DEMOCRAT reporter:

"Under no condition short of a conviction will I resign. I shall sit in the saddle and give East St. Louis as good an administration as it is possible to give."

Mollman was interviewed at his office at the close of a meeting of the Committee of One Hundred, an organization of prominent residents fostering reform in the government of the city. It was expected that the committee would call upon the mayor to resign pending his indictment, but no such action was taken.

The mayor was eager to learn what had transpired at the committee's meeting. The committee went on record as favoring the adoption of commission form of government for East St. Louis, but Mollman, when informed of this action, evinced little interest.

Return to East St. Louis.

Mayor Mollman returned to East St. Louis yesterday from the Ozarks, where he terminated a fishing trip when he received a newspaper containing news of his indictment. He immediately furnished a $1000 bond, the sureties of which were his brother, Julius Mollman, and Alderman A. H. Murphy. Maurice Ahearn, the mayor's secretary, who was indicted, charged with conspiracy and rioting, also gave bond. It was signed by Aldermen A. H. Murphy and Herbert King and its amount was $3000.

Ahearn was asked by the ministers to resign with Mollman during the period of the indictment. He would make no statement.

Ahearn, besides being Mollman's secretary, is secretary of the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners. It is expected that his resignation will be demanded at the next session of the board Thursday night, unless he tenders his resignation before that time.

Pastors' Resolution.

The resolution by the Pastors' Alliance follows:

"To the Mayor and the General Public—

"In view of the fact that some one must be held responsible for the lack of law enforcement which made possible the terrible calamity which befell our city on July 2, when murder and arson, with many other outrageous acts, were wantonly, and, in many instances, committed without rebuke or interruption upon the part of our city officials; and,

"Whereas, The special grand jury of St. Clair County, after investigation, has brought an indictment against the mayor and his secretary; and,

"Whereas, Other officials under indictment have been suspended for the period of indictment; be it, therefore,

"Resolved, That we, the Pastors' Alliance of East St. Louis, suggest that, in all fairness, it becomes the mayor, F. W. Mollman, and his secretary, Maurice Ahearn, to resign during the period of their indictment.

"Passed in regular session, September 10, 1917.

"GEO. W. ALLISON, President.
"J. WARD NELSON, Secretary."

Mayor Denies Charges.

Mollman in his interview said that before his election he had had the indorsement of the ministers. He denied the charge of ministers and of the indictment that he had failed preceding the riot to enforce the laws against vice, saying that he had done more for the moral uplift of the city than any mayor the city had ever had. He cited his inforcement of the Sunday lid law and his revocation of illegal saloon licenses.

He denied the charge in the indictment that he had failed to call upon the sheriff's office to co-operate with the city government in quelling the riots, saying that the sheriff and his chief deputy were out of the city on the night of the riot. As to the charge that he failed to direct the soldiers, he said that he left that entirely to the military authorities, although the city was not under martial law. He said he "begged" the governor to declare martial law, but that the latter official had denied the request.

Mollman said the phraseology of the report to the grand jury sounded familiar to him and that he believed it had been written by a certain lawyer in the attorney general's office. The mayor, when asked about the proposition of the commission form of government for East St. Louis declined to discuss it. He said he was not familiar with the commission system.

At the meeting of the Committee of One Hundred it was the opinion that even though a majority of the voters favored the commission system, Mollman would hold over in office until his term expires in April, 1919.

Procedure Necessary.

Maurice V. Joyce, a lawyer, explained to the committee the procedure necessary to change to the commission government and recommended that petitions be presented to the County Court in February so that the question could be voted upon at the general election in April. This recommendation met with opposition, the objectors favoring quicker action and an earlier election.

As a result, a committee was appointed to co-operate with other civic organizations in expediting the matter of getting the petitions of the County Court. The commission plan would give the city a mayor and four commissioners. The initiative and referendum features of the new plan, according to its advocates, would eliminate politics.

Among those who favored an early submission to the voters of the question of a change in government was Rev. George W. Allison, pastor of the First Baptist Church, and widely known as a chautauqua lecturer. Dr. Allison has been active in civic affairs in East St. Louis and was one of the witnesses called before the grand jury investigating the race riots.

The pastor, in an interview after the meeting, said that though he had been criticised for its activities in connection with trying to fix the blame for the riots, he would continue his work.

"I have been asked to stop this work," said the pastor, "but I shall not do it. It is the greatest good I can do."

Mayor Mollman's wife is a member of Dr. Allison's church.

Fire in Negro Cottages.

Two small cottages in one of the negro sections of East St. Louis were discovered afire early yesterday by policemen. The cottages were vacated at the time of the race riot and have not been occupied since. They are at 715 South Fifth street and 315 Trendley avenue. The patrolmen extinguished the fire and later found them burning again. They then called the Fire Department.

COLORED IN PROTEST

Guardian 7/7/17

FIVE ORGANIZATIONS SEND TELEGRAMS ON MASSACRE EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE TO GOMPERS—NEW ENGLAND LEAGUE TO GOV. OF ILL.—NAT'L, COLORED LIBERTY CONFERENCE TO PRES. WILSON — "BLACKEST PAGE IN AMERICAN HISTORY."

Following Conference held all day Tuesday at the Equal Rights League headquarters, 34 Cornhill, Wednesday morning's papers carried their protests. The Boston Journal article read:—

Three New England associations of Colored persons held separate meetings in Boston last night and entered vigorous protests against the recent outrage in East St. Louis, where many Negroes were killed and injured. Telegrams were drawn up and sent to President Wilson, to Gov. Lowden of Illinois, and to Samuel Gompers. The danger of uprisings is hinted.

Ask Wilson to Punish Lynchers.

Members of the National Colored Liberty Conference sent the following telegram to the Prfesident:

"Monday night at East St. Louis, a mob of white men and women perpetrated the massacre of a great number of Negroes. This act seals the blackest page in American history and sinks the nation below the level of most barbarous nations and calls for prompt, vigorous and effective action. It incites to its own repetition.

The National Colored Liberty Conference implores you to use all the powers of your office to bring the guilty parties to justice and to prevent a recurrence. We beseech you to express yourself in no uncertain terms of condemnation."

(Signed)
A. W. WHALEY,
J. W. HILL,
J. CLIFTON SMITH,
WILLIAM D. BRIGHAM.

Asks Gov. Lowden to Protect Colored.

The following wire was sent to the Illinois governor by members of the New England League for Afro-American Suffrage:

"We beg you use all authority available to maintain justice for Colored native American citizens in the State of Illinois. Press accounts represent that Colored citizens were deprived of arms by search of houses and thus left defenseless while white citizens were allowed to carry weapons and white women to attack and kill Colored women, also burning of homes.

"All indicates in our judgment great danger of uprising of 12,000,000 Colored citizens who will not much longer submit to injustice and outrage by white Americans and indifference of government officials.

"The sympathy and help of every citizen is needed now to win the war."

(Signed)
WILLIAM D. BRIGHAM,
CURTIS J. WRIGHT.

Equal Rights League Puts Blame on Gompers.

The Boston branch of the National Equal Rights League ascribes the race massacre at East St. Louis to the labor unions. It intimates that if Sampel Gompers had acted when the league appealed to the head of the American Federation of Labor to stop the strike of machinists at Schenectady, caused by the employment of one Colored man, the Illinois outrage would not have occurred.

Besides urging Colored people to wear crepe for a week the league telegraphed to Mr. Gompers as follow:

"Bloodiest, most murderous massacre of Colored Amercans in country's history was committed at East St. Louis by labor unionists. This followed Schenectady color strike when you ignored our requests to intercede. Unless you act now to stop labor unions from attacking Colored workers, country in danger from riots, insurrections, hampering prosecution of European war. Please declare your positon now.

"Boston Branch National Equal Rights League,
"E. T. MORRIS,
"REV. W. W. RYAN,
"W. MONROE TROTTER."

THE EAST ST. LOUIS CARNAGE

Telegram 7/5/17

There is as much difference between the riots recently in Boston and the once occurring a few days later in East St. Louis, just as much difference as there is in color between black and white, between day and night.

On the one hand crowds of patriotic citizens, among whom were many soldiers, all injudicious, perhaps, but inspired with the right sort of motives, resented the remarks of "peace advocates" and Socialists against the war and the desecration of the American flag, and acted forcibly to show their displeasure.

In East St. Louis sheer brutality and wilful murder, for no other apparent reason than to gratify a bloodlust, was displayed by a cowardly mob, and to what purpose? Negroes from the Southland were flocking to St. Louis to labor whereever employment could be secured. These Negroes were driven in great part at least from the South, as the head of the Tuskegee institute said in a letter to The Telegram, published Tuesday, because of the numerous lynchings, a crime manifested in some instances in the most awful form.

Here is the way the Tuskegee principal puts it:

"I gathered from reading Negro newspapers and from other sources, that in spite of the notable decrease in the number of victims of mob violence for six months, the horrors connected with the recent burning at the stake near Memphis has increased among Negroes the fear of lynchings and accelerated their migration to the North."

The slaying of a policeman by a Negro bandit was simply an excuse to the abhorent mob spirit to manifest itself, a mob not excelled in depravity and murderous instincts by any similar crowd in America. There was also the cry of "imported labor" and purchasing of desirable property on the part of the few "undesirable neighbors."

But down in the hearts of the crowds running rampant in St. Louis there was the race hatred of the ignorant, the bloodlust of the savage. Drunk with lust for blood, these savages shot down colored men and women, in a riot of depravity that has hardly been equalled in the list of similar outrages in this country, certainly not excelled in any period since the Civil War.

One's blood boils indeed to read in the despatches such tales as this one, and this too in enlightened America, a country out today with all its strength and all that is best in young manhood and intelligence to establish humanity and democracy firmly in the world's domains:

"A white man, observing a cowering Negro, approached and said: "Come with me into this alley. You'll be safe there; there's a soldier there."

The Negro followed. In the alley the white man calmly shot his victim through the head and calmly sauntered back into the street, presently joining a mob intent on a rope-and-lamp-post lynching."

Well may Robert R. Morton principal of Tuskegee, exclaim in a message to the American people this week, "Killing and maiming men because they are seeking economic salvation it not, in my opinion, a credit to our civilization or to our boasted doctrine of fair play."

That the Negro makes a mistake to leave his farm work in the Southland to enter into competition with the white man in the North in shop and mill, may be true, but it has nothing to do with the action of mobs and savage crowds like those of East St. Louis and elsewhere.

Whether the determining factor in the St. Louis riots was economic or something else, it stands forth conspicuously that the laws were disregarded in a mob ridden city and class spirit displayed in the most cowardly and bloodiest way.

That the Negro is better off with his "40 acres and a mule" in no degree minimizes the awful crime committed in St. Louis ostensibly to avenge a policeman; but really to repel competitors in an industrial field.

More properly it should be declared an occasion for a riot of savagery and bloodlust such as it is hoped our country will never see again.

THE EAST ST. LOUIS HORROR.

Raleigh Gazette 7/7/17

The news dispatches of last Monday brought the story of the renewal of race rioting in East St. Louis. As usual the Negro is made the aggressor. It is reported that a mob of several hundred Negroes gathered at a church and, armed with guns, clubs and other weapons, in a body marched down one of the streets. That when met by an automobile truck containing several policemen who demanded to know their purpose, that they fired into them killing one of the officers and wounding others. That it was this circumstance that gave rise to the riot.

To those acquainted with Negro character this version will not be accepted with entire credulity. During a life experience with the race we have no recollection of a single instance in which the Negro has provoked a conflict with the whites. He has always been on the defensive. And in almost every case he has made no defense. It is well known that there is a spirit pervading the great industrial centres that the Negro is to be kept out. We understand that the race conflict in East St. Louis arose out of the fact that industrial enterprises were importing and employing large numbers of Southern Negroes. This subsequent horror is but a continuation of this purpose with the added force of hostility to the government of the United States in its war with Germany. For the most part the lawless hordes who were active in the East St. Louis riot are foreigners with unpronouncable names, who are out of sympathy with our institutions and would gladly see our country go down in ignominous defeat. It may be a scheme well conceived to divert the energies and resources of the country from a vigorous prosecution of the war. The object is to stir of internal strife and embarrass the government in its war policies.

If the reports given in the daily papers are to be relied on this East St. Louis horror is another blasting shame for which the American people must sooner or later atone. We are informed that Negro men and Negro women were shot down, beaten, hung, while the crowds around witnessed the performances with ghoulish glee. We are told that women and girls pulled Negro women and girls from street cars, took off their shoes and beat them into insensibility. That the mob set fire to the homes of Negroes and as they attempted to escape from the burning buildings were shot down amid wild cheering. That the police, aided by the State National Guard, surrounded the Negro district, entered every home and disarmed every inmate and left them perfectly defenseless. That sixteen of the National Guard surrendered their guns to the mob. And all this is Christian America now loud in the proclamation of its one great purpose to rescue humanity from the clutches of despotism and to make the world safe for democracy. These terrible times—these ghastly doings—will have an end sometime—some how.

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

SHOOTING A DETECTIVE EXCUSE FOR MASSACRE

FIRST POLICE DISARM ALL COLORED—WEIRD STORY OF 200 COLORED MEN MARCHING DOWN STREET AND FIRED INTO AUTO OF DETECTIVES IN PLAIN CLOTHES WHEN ACCOSTED—ON THIS ACT WHITES START BURNING AND MASSACRE.

Guardian 7/7/17

East St. Louis, Ill., July 2, 1917.—Detective Sergt. Samuel Coppedge was killed, three other officers were wounded, one of them so seriously he may die, and two citizens were shot here early today by a Negro mob in a recurrence of race rioting.

After the killing of the officer the Negroes dispersed.

The police were armed with riot guns and patrolled the streets all night, and six companies of Illinois National Guard were ordered to East St. Louis by Gov. Lowden.

The trouble began when a mob of Negroes, estimated at 200, each armed with some sort of weapon, assembled at a church in response to the ringing of a bell and began marching down the street.

When the word was received at Police Headquarters that a mob had formed four policemen were sent to the scene in an automobile. As the car turned a corner, the headlights showed the mob massed in the street, marching toward the machine, many carrying clubs in addition to rifles or revolvers.

Sergt. Coppedge asked the Negroes where they were going and was met with a curt reply and an order to "Drive on." He told them that he and his party were officers and had come to see that order was maintained.

"Go on about your business," was the reply, accompanied by a volley of shots. Coppedge was killed instantly and the other three officers were wounded.

Police and Federal Soldiers Take Weapons From Colored.

When word of the killing of Coppedge reached Police Headquarters, Chief of Police Hickey ordered every available patrolman on duty and asked for the services of 200 soldiers of the 6th Infantry, stationed here, under Maj. Cavanaugh. A cordon was thrown around the Negro belt and soldiers and patrolmen went through every house, searching men and women for weapons. All firearms were confiscated and about 50 blacks were locked up.

Colored Labor

Saloons and places of amusement were ordered closed and other steps were taken to keep crowds off the streets. The trouble grew out of the importation of Colored laborers from the South.

The trouble this morning, in the opinion of the police, was caused by a desire for revenge.

The police guarded both ends of the Eads and free bridges today and no Negroes were permitted to cross without being searched.

Mobbing Begins Monday.

Despite the troop patrols the attacks continued this afternoon, and at 1 o'clock eight Colored men were in hospitals. The attacks usually took the form of a bombardment of individual Negroes with stones.

CONGRESS DISCUSSES ILL. RACE MASSACRE

Guardian 7/7/17

LOYALTY OF COLORED ESSENTIAL, BUT CAN MEN FIGHT WHEN RELATIVES SUBJECT TO MURDER, ASKS COL. DEMOCRATIC SENATOR—SHERMAN OF ILL. BLAMES SALOONS AND LABOR PEOPLE BUT HAS NO EXCUSES FOR HIS STATE.

Washington, July 5, 1917—Senator Thomas of Colorado brought up the race riots in East St. Louis during debate on the food bill in the Senate today, as an illustration of social unrest which is manifested in various parts of the country at times.

Loyalty of Colored Essential.

He declared that one-tenth of the population of this country is black, and said their loyalty in the present crisis is essential.

How Can People Fight for Flag When Families Murdered at Home.

"Can they fight for the flag and give their whole devotion to the cause if their friends and relatives can at any time be subject to murder?" he asked.

Senator Lewis interrupted to say that reports of the trouble had been inaccurate and that the citizens have asked for a federal investigation.

Senator Sherman declared the disorders in East St. Louis were due to the saloons.

Ill. Senator Blames Saloons.

"It's the worst saloon town in America," he said, adding that the saloons openly disregard the laws, and for years the town had been an oasis to the people of St. Louis, who came across the bridge on Sundays to get their liquor.

Contempt for Law Bred by Liquor Violations.

The Illinois senator asserted that the mayor was supine and the police not only inadequate, but inclined not to interfere with violation of the liquor laws. East St. Louis, he said, received a lot of the undesirable from St. Louis, Mo., and so great had contempt for law become that it was easy enough for the lawless to start a career for shooting and burning when the occasion offered.

Blames Unions—No Apology for State.

"I have no apology for East St. Louis, or for my State, or for any other State which allows such a condition to exist," he declared. "I am a bone dry senator from now on."

Part of the blame, Senator Sherman said, was due to the presence of Industrial Workers of the World.

MASSACRE.

Guardian 7/7/17

(St. Louis Republic, July 3, 1917)

Blood-mad men and women of East St. Louis rose in a mighty mob of more than 10,000 yesterday and wreaked vengeance upon the black population of their city.

Led, in hundreds of instances, by modern-day "Joans of Arc," this army of fighting citizens avenged the assassination of Police Detective Coppedge in the greatest riot the nation's history has ever recorded.

Thousands of Negroes, far from being cowed by the method of the white man's reverge, continued fighting back all day and far into the night. That more than 100 of their race had been disposed of during the day appeared not to enter into their calculations at all.

The entire city was threatened with conflagrations, which spread in every direction from the torch-lighted fires in Negro huts in the Black Belt. At one time it appeared that the business section would be destroyed.

The presence of upward of 1,000 federalized Illinois National Guardsmen failed to check even temporarily the crazed men and women, who every one armed with some sort of a weapon—anything from a Winchester repeating rifle to a policeman's night stick—surged ceaselessly up and down the principal streets of the town.

More than 400 prominent citizens were incarcerated in the city jail during the night, arresttd at the instigation of militia officers.

Colored Dentist Sought.

Dr. L. M. Bundy, negro dentist, living at 1701 Bond avenue, said to be mob leader of the blacks, is missing, an da search has been instituted for him. He is the man said to have inflamed the Negroes and formed the mob which killed Policeman Coppedge. A large reward for the arrest of Bundy is to be offered today. A Grand Jury investigation is to be started immediately.

All saloons are closed and will remain closed until further instructions are issued. No picture theatre will be permitted to open, and no man who has no legitimate business on the streets will be permitted to appear today.

A mob of Negroes opened fire on a schoolhouse at Eleventh street and Piggott avenue, in which half a dozen white families had barricaded themselves. It required a company of 100 militiamen to rescue the imprisoned whites before the blacks could reach them.

White Girl Beats Colored Woman with Her Shoe.

Seized with the mob spirit, two young white girls climbed on a car at Broadway and Main street at about 4 p. m. and dragged a Negress from her seat. As they dragged the struggling Negress through the door to the street there was a great cheer from men on the sidewalk.

As the Colored woman attempted to break away from her assailants one of the girls—for they were only about 17 years old—pulled off her shoe and started to beat the victim over the head. The victim flinched under the blows of the girl and was bleeding when she was rescued by militiamen.

The girls were not arrested and started to walk away from the scene. There were bloodstains on their clothes and as they passed their friends they told about the part they had played in the riot.

Laugh at Lynching.

One negro was seized by a crowd of men. A rope was produced and he was raised to the arm of a telephone pole. The rope broke and the black fell into the arms of the mob members. They laughed. Then someone started shooting the man, and in an instant fifty shots were poured into his body.

Three more Negroes were spied by the crowd as the terrorized blacks were trying to escape from a burning building. One of these was strung up to a telephone pole and the other two were shot. The five bodies were left in the street and no one offered to carry them away.

Mob led by white girls.

A mob of more than 100 men, led by 10 or 15 young girls about 19 years old, chased a negress at the Relay Depot about 5 o'clock. The girls were brandishing clubs and calling upon the men to kill the woman.

Disarm White Militia.

The rioting began early in the day, when 100 white men met at Iabor Temple Hall, 408 Collinsville avenue. They went down Collinsville avenue, and at Broadway, the most important transfer point in the city, they encountered a negro on a street car. He rant out the front door, but was seized, knocked down and repeatedly kicked. As he lay on the ground a white man walked from the mob, and standing over him, fired six times. Two bullets entered his body, in the back above the waist.

Whites Ran From Colored.

The mob then turned back down the street and at the mouth of "The Black Valley" encountered a Neg. mob of 50 men. The white men turned back and in front of the Illmo Hotel encountered another lone Negro. He ran and the white mob threw bricks at him. Someone fired two shots at the fleeing man.

Defy Police Commissioner.

Just at this time Police Commissioner N. A. Schein and Patrolman Combs arrived. They quickly grabbed the whtie man who fired at the Negro. The men shouted "Turn him loose. and ten men charged the commissioner and patrolman and dragged the armed mob member away.

The flames would eat their way to him, past him and further east along Railroad avenue.

A girl turned to her small brother, who was carrying a rock. "Why haven't you got a gun?" she asked She carried an iron bolt.

There was a swirl in the mob. In the center of it was a man with a large bag of cartridges, serving them out to the 38's and 32's.

A detachment of militia dashed east along the tracks, peering with pointed rifles into the burning shacks. A Negro ran around in circles, crazed from fright. "Halt!" a soldier cried in a voice that quivered with excitement.

Soldiers Kill Colored.

The Negro fled like a frightened thing over a board fence. A volley was fired by the soldiers. He dropped on the other side and was burned.

A Negress ran screaming from house to house, dragging a black child with her.

"Get the Nigger," cried the mob.

"Let's don't kill womer," said a calmer voice. "Come out of it, wench!"

Business of Killing.

The woman, startled, looked at the hundreds of men and women, staggered toward them on limbs that trembled so they scarcely held her up. Her head bobbed and she shrank at every sound. The mob pointed eastward toward the levee district.

She was crying and moaning in such a way as only Negroes, face to face with eternity, can moan.

"If you damned blacks hadn't come up here you wouldn't be crying now," called a voice.

Then the "business of killing" began again. Sometimes the flap or a ragged green curtain in a house near the creeping fire would be drawn up a little. There would be the noise of a pistol shot.

"There's some one in there!" came an answering shout and soon the bullets from the mob would be splintering the weatherboarding, smashing the windows.

Threaten Ambulance Man.

A Negro lay a block east on Broadway, with his face beaten in. He was not dead. An ambulance, driven by white men, dashed up.

"If you pick up that skunk we'll kill you, too," cried the crowd.

"I've got a wife and four children at home," said the white-faced ambulance man as he climbed back on the wagon.

Flames Reach Body—Lynch Wounded Man.

When the fire had eaten its way that far the body was tossed into

the flames. Two blocks further east lay a Negro who had been beaten until he was dying. "Let's string him up," shouted a man.

A rope was brought and the dying black in a moment was dangling from a pole. Several "good measure" shots were fired into the body and the crowd went further on.

Firemen Blocked by Mob

Engine Company No. 18 from St. Louis was sent over to help stop the flames that were threatening the entire southern district of the city. The firemen connected their hose and started to turn their streams on the Negro shacks.

"If you do that we'll kill you," the mob said. Company 18 came back to St. Louis.

"I wish that was Mayor Mollman's house," said one of the throng.

Labor Men Show Hand.

"I hope that fire will get to the Aluminum Ore Company," said another. "They brought these damned black skunks up here from the south."

At Tenth street and Broadway there stands a row of two-story yellow-front brick flats occupied by Negroes. As the mob was raiding a Negro store at Eighth street and Broadway the blacks congregated in the Tenth street flat.

RACE WAR FOUGHT WITH THE FURY OF SAVAGES

The Dallas Express 7/7/17

From Dallas Morning News:

The press dispatches speak of the East St. Louis affair as a race riot. But to characterize that carnival of incendiarism and murder as a riot is not only to minimize the extent of it absurdly, but to obscure the essential nature of it. A riot, whether racial or other, is of more spontaneous origin and of lesser duration. It is the product largely of excitement that subsides and passes with the venting of it. This East St. Louis orgy was in realty a race war, aggravated by industrial enmities. It had long been half-consciously meditated. The outbreak seems to have been occasioned by the action of a body of Negroes in firing on a body of policemen who, in civilian dress, were mistaken for a mob bent on mischief. But that incident was but the provocation needed to reawaken the racial and industrial animosities which broke out last May and resulted in the killing of several Negroes. Those animosities seem to have been engendered by the opposition of white laborers to the importation of Negroes for work in factories and mills of that city. They were not brought in to supplant white labors. There was more work white labor to perform it. Never being regarded as an industrial menace to the white laborers. This seems to have been the initial cause of a series of events which culminated in Monday's saturnalia of murder.

The press reports of the affair are censurably vague, but they nevertheless leave one little chance to escape the opinion that the sanguinary character of the affair was made possible by the treacherous refusal of the authorities to discharge their duty vigorously. Even the militia seem to have had little heart for the task put upon them. One can avoid the suspicion, from reading the reports, that they were more disposed to indulge the murderous mobs than to suppress them. Called on to protect the lives of the Negroes, they seem tacitly to have given license to the white men who were engaged in destroying them. And, from this, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the public sentiment of the community sympathized, if not with the murderous work, at least with the cause in whose behalf that work was done. If this is so, the affair betrays a condition of racial hostility more profound and rancorous than any which exists in the South. For there is a spirit of retaliation in most of the crimes which are committed against the Negroes in the South. Southern mobs are usually moved to fury by the commission of crimes by Negroes. This does not of course excuse those crimes, nor can it be wrought into an argument to show that the South has been just in its treatment of the Negroes. The exodus of Negroes from the South, of which this East St. Louis affair is an incidental consequence, is occasioned by a series of grievance on the part of the Negroes, a sense of grievance which, it must be admitted by men of candid minds, is not without warrant. But if the South has not been just to the Negro, and if it has been frequently guilty of atrocious crimes against him, its crimes and fury have not been animated by the hatred of the Negroes as a race that is betrayed unmistakably at East St. Louis.

This East St. Louis affair is without counterpart in the North or in any part of the country. It is, in a sense, an isolated phenomenon. But in other parts of the North, in which Negroes have gone in large numbers, resentment has been manifested no less unmistakably, thru happily less lawlessly and less savagely. The advent of Negroes in numbers large enough to be noticeable is regarded as an industrial intrusion by white laborers, who look upon them, if not as competitors of the moment—which they are not because of the excess of work over labor to perform it—as at least potential competitors of the future when the demand for labor shall shrink to something like normal proportions. The instinctive racial prejudice operates as an incitement to revenge a coming which industrial motives picture as an intrusion, and even an invasion. These circumstances of the matter make it plain that if the Negro is to establish an industrial place for himself in the North, his progress must be so slow as to make it hardly preceptible, or otherwise, he must reconcile himself to the necessity of having to fight, fight in the physical and bloody sense, for every success he may win.

The rule and fundamental solution of this grave problem lies as a matter of duty and policy with the South. The South is the Negro's natural habitat, and the South has an economic need of him. The interest of the South and of the Negro are complimentary in the truest sense. A policy of justice is likewise the policy of expedience. The Negro labor, which the South indispensably needs for its own economic well-being can be retained if the South will, in its treatment of the Negro, conform its practices to the chivalrous precepts with which it decorates itself. When the Negro goes North he is moved more by the repulsion of the conditions that beset him in the South than by the attraction of those that invite him to the North His natural preference is to live in the South, but that preference is not so strong that it can not be nullified by the injustices which are done him too frequently in the South. The Negroes of the South are not seeking social equality. They do, however, crave a larger opportunity for education, economic and social progress than they enjoy, and it is the denial of this which makes so many of them yield to the lure of the North. The South has only to reform its own habits of conduct toward the Negro to keep him contented, and, by doing that, preclude a repetition of the exhibition of savagery which the country has been called on to witness at East St. Louis.

CINCINNATI O ENQUIRER
JULY 4 1917

East St. Louis Riots.

It is fatuous to deplore and decry the anarchical and riotous conditions that prevail in East St. Louis. Every right-minded man and woman shudders over the slaughter and destruction. But what is Illinois going to do about it? What are Ohio and Indiana and Michigan going to do about it if similar conditions prevail, as they may?

The only reason assigned for this reign of blood and unreason in East St. Louis is that labor protests against an influx of negroes from the South. What right has labor or any other body or force to break down the barriers of civilization, to spurn the laws of the land, to repudiate the moral code because it dislikes or disapproves an economic condition that has not yet been solved?

Illinois cannot deal too harshly with the firebrands and incendiaries responsible for this holocaust of crime. The negro has been moving out of the South in droves for more than a year past. East St. Louis has probably been invaded no more greatly than scores of other cities, and the problems presented in the Illinois city are not different from those confronting other cities. The coming of the negro and what to do with him is commanding the most serious thought of the North. The problem is going to require patience and tact, and it may require years to solve. This twilight people, as Beecher used to call them, are for the greater part untutored, and like children they are rushing into a Canaan of high wages and easy living. Disillusionment awaits most of them, and the rigors of Northern winters, to which they are unaccustomed, is likely to play havoc with their health and physical constitution. Just as unaccountably as they set forth for the promised land of milk and honey to the North, they may in a year or two drift back to the soft breezes of Dixie Land.

East St. Louis has made a horrible blunder, a mistake that will leave a livid scar. The handling of this great puzzle must be left to reason and to time. The defiance and desecration of law is never justified, and certainly in this instance cannot be condemned too vigorously.

LET US LEAD THE WAY

Particularly apropos recent acts of lawry against the negro in Illinois—the of Lincoln, the black man's emancipa is the following appeal to the people south, through The Constitution, from the president of a leading negro training school:

Editor Constitution: The increasing lynchings of a helpless people both in the north and in the south, in many instances for trivial things, are having a depressing effect on a people who love their country and who are loyal and true to the flag. The courts of the land are in control of the whites, so there is never an excuse for a lynching. All crimes should be justly and severely punished, and there need be no fear that any negro criminal or supposed criminal will ever escape.

The negro is asking for a right to live and to hope.

I appeal to the righteous sense of the Anglo-Saxon, and ask the aid of your great paper to stir up sentiment against lynchings, the murder of helpless women and children, and the burning of human beings. The spirit of the Anglo-Saxon is for fair play and that the strong do not unnecessarily oppress the weak. Please arouse this dormant spirit and cause America to awake so that all together we can work side by side to help make the world a better place in which people can live.

JAMES E. SHEPARD,
President National Training School,
Durham, N. C.

President Shepard's premise is eminently fair and his reasoning sound.

Accepting them as such, then, does not the Illinois incident point the way now to the south to lead the north in the proper solution of this question?

The utter failure of the northern method—the Illinois riots being taken as representing it—admits of no further expatiation. It will never "do the business," that much is certain!

Then, what better way is there than for us to set a standard that meets with the approval of our own conscience?

There have been a great many things in connection with, or incident to, our attitude toward the negro that haven't been right. But, whatever can be said of our past treatment of the colored man, we of the south never have permitted our passions to run riot with our reason to such a disgraceful extent as did those rapid-solvers-of-the-negro-problem the other day up in Illinois!

We have never denied the negro the right to earn a living!

Why not, out of the whole situation, let us understand that the only ultimate, effective, lasting solution of the race problem has got to come up from the fundamentals of justice and the fair deal?

Then, let us accept and apply those two fundamentals as our guiding principle in our future dealings with the colored man and our future attitude toward the race, and in a short time the north will be made ashamed of itself and its failure!

NEGROES DRAFT MEMORIAL

The Dallas Morning 7/21/17

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., July 16.—The Colored Baptist ministers in a regular session of their conference composed of representatives from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, held here today drafted a memorial to Congress protesting against the riots in East St. Louis and asked that the federal government enact laws to protect the other millions of their race from suffering a like fate. "While realizing," the memorial states, "that the federal government cannot interfere with a state's conduct of its own affairs, but when a state can not or will not enforce its laws against murderers and incendiaries national legislation is then a crying necessity for the peace and welfare of the nation."

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

What Shall We Do With the Negro?

BY HEV. CHARLES [illegible]E

Movements of negroes from the south to take the places of white men in big industrial enterprises has already borne fruit in the East St. Louis race riots.

With the departure of the immigrant population to the seat of war in Europe, there remained only the negro to exploit, and he has been coming in a steady stream to northern cities.

By bringing the black man into competition with the white man, employers of labor have raised a social problem as difficult to meet as any by which our country is confronted.

Booker T. Washington once said: "I cannot hold any man in the gutter without staying in the gutter myself."

And Washington was right. As a matter of self-protection, it behooves us to care for the negro. If we keep the negro in the gutter, we shall be compelled to stay there with him.

Without discussing the race question in any way, let us look at a few outstanding facts in regard to our treatment of the negro.

We compel him to live in the worst sections of our towns and cities, often without drainage or sewerage or garbage service, without scarcely any of the sanitary conditions in house or yard or street which whites consider an absolute necessity.

We drive the worst forms of immorality into the negro quarters, and then curse the negro because of his moral weakness. If there is to be a red-light district in town, it is dumped into the area into which we also dump the negro population.

It would be a comparatively easy matter to produce statistics which indicate that the negro is the worst criminal in the world, but how can he help becoming such? We subject him to the severest tests of our city life—physical, moral and political—and then cynically declare the "nigger" is no good anyway.

But there is another side to this question. The negroes who live under these unsanitary conditions are our laundresses, nurses and cooks. If there is contagious disease in their own homes—and there is much of it—they are sure to bring it to our homes, either personally or thru the laundry which we send to them.

There is one big fact we have got to reckon with—the negro came to the United States against his will and he is going to stay here. He will not return to Africa to establish a Liberian republic, as some people have fondly wished.

After bringing the negro to this country, for 250 years we systematically expunged from the negro race the best qualities which fit a man for citizenship in a democracy.

It is now simply a question as to whether he is to be a "good" negro or a "bad" negro, and the answer to this question depends as much upon the whites as it does upon the blacks.

Let us give the negro a square deal. Neither race hatred nor mawkish sentimentality will settle this delicate question. The south cannot settle it alone and the north cannot do the work of the south. The north and the south, the city and the country, must attack the situation together, for this is a national problem.

N Y C POST
JULY 17 1917

THE NEGRO AND THE NATION.

"I had for a long time ceased to read newspapers. . . . But this momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror." There can hardly be any persons to-day who are imitating Jefferson in discarding newspapers, but the sudden resurgence of the "negro question" is in a way as startling, if by no means so alarming, as was its first ominous appearance upon the occasion of the Missouri Compromise. Senator Tillman, returning to Washington to participate in the discussion of one of the prime measures connected with the war, gains the attention of the country by a speech upon the problem of the negro, in which there is no longer any pretence that the matter is one for the South to settle. The riots in East St. Louis do not concern even Illinois alone. "Indirectly," as the Senator from South Carolina remarks, they concern "the whole country." This recognition that the problem is, as those who have devoted themselves most earnestly to its solution have always contended, not sectional but national, is an important step forward, despite Senator Tillman's cynical comment that the better the North knows the negro the less it likes him.

Whether as a result of this nation-wide viewing of the problem, or not, there is a calm seriousness in the new consideration of it, an evident desire to get to the bottom of it, that is the most promising development it has had in many a day. Nowhere is there any manifestation of an inclination to dismiss the troubles at East St. Louis as a local or exceptional incident. Everywhere they are taken as indicative of what might occur under similar conditions in other places, and therefore symptomatic of something more than a flash of passion. Discussion of them in the South has been as restrained in temper and as free in candor as anywhere in the North. The old attitude toward the negro question as a *chose jugée*, of which prominent Southerners have often bitterly complained, is rapidly becoming an attitude of the frankest self-examination and criticism. The traditional Southerner who writes his newspaper to protest against any suggestion that the white man of the South is in any way to blame for the restlessness of the black man is answered by a volley of facts and figures that put the debate upon a very different plane from that of inherited or acquired prejudice.

One of the most illuminating of these debates took place recently in the Houston *Post*. A reader was allowed more than a column in which to deny that the problem was anything more than a question of worthy and unworthy negroes. Upon sanitary conditions, which the newspaper had denounced, he professed ignorance, emphasizing this admission by the smashing reply: "The *Post* has always lauded Houston to the skies as being the paradise on earth, and if in doing so it knew about these unsanitary conditions of the negroes, it is not our fault." But what stirred him deepest was the statement that "the $1,500,000 of the State school fund, which constitutes the negroes' share, is diverted to the white schools in most counties." This simply could not be true—not in Texas. Let the editor specify one single instance of it, and the grand jury would be on its trail. Instead of specifying the one instance so ardently longed for, the *Post* pointed out that not many more than half of the negro children in the State have ever been regularly in school, although the fund is regularly expended to the last dollar. "Somebody else enjoys the benefit." "One might as well declare," it added, "that the Prairie View institution were maintained just as generously as the Agricultural and Mechanical College or any of our white institutions supported by the public."

This was but one in the Houston *Post's* bill of particulars. "As for inequality before the law," which it set forth as one of the causes of negro discontent, "judges in this city have from the bench denounced the custom of bringing troops of negro crap-shooters before them, while the more pretentious poker games were permitted to run unmolested." And it took leave to say that no man who thinks the negro is treated well enough can render much aid. If the men interested hold that view, the exodus will continue. It, therefore, remains firm in the belief that it is time

to look more carefully into the living conditions of the negroes who inhabit the cities and towns; to look into the question, of wages in the rural counties, ncluding rentals, and the manner of payment of wages and collection of rentals; to go into the subject of negro schools . . . to protect him against imposition by which he is frequently denied full value for his money; to protect him against persecution at the hands of petty peace officers and against injustice in the courts, due largely to the fact that he is not able to employ counsel, and which is shown by the much heavier punishments inflicted upon him than upon criminals of other races for the same offences; a resolute stand by every community against mob law; and the organization in every county with a large negro contingent of a representative committee on welfare that will investigate the ordinary complaints of negro citizens and render aid where it is deserved and is possible.

We should like to see the Northern newspaper that has laid down a more comprehensive, better-considered plan.

If it is the duty of the South to treat well the negroes it has, it is equally the duty of the North to deal fairly with those that come here, especially when they have been attracted by the promise of better things. The resolutions passed yesterday by Boston negroes, declaring "the greatest enemy of humanity here to be organized labor," refer to Mr. Gompers's really outrageous utterances in Carnegie Hall. They even point to the "President of the Republic, under whose Administration every sort of governmental stigma and discrimination has been put upon every citizen of African extraction, in violation of his own words when first securing election." They state but the truth when they resolve that the East St. Louis affair "reflects shame and discredit on the white Americans." It is for North and South together to show that when they say democracy, they mean it.

N Y CENSOR [illegible]
AUGUST 8, 19[illegible]

The Negro Problem.

Catholic Progress says:

The industries which imported hordes of cheap negro laborers from Southern states to replace white labor were acting according to strict American business principles, the principles on which have been built the great mercantile and manufacturing concerns of which we are so inordinately proud. **Business regards labor solely as a commodity to be purchased in the cheapest market, its product to be sold in the dearest.** The people of East Saint Louis did not look favorably on the importation of negroes by the great industries which were controlled wholly by outside capital. Local business would suffer, real estate values would be depressed and bank balances would drop. Consideration was given to the next census. In all circles these matters were discussed and commented on, which helped to inflame the bitterness between the two races. The rioters felt, and it seems to have been a fact, that the sympathy of the community was with them. The negroes were undesirable to every one but the corporations which were exploiting them. The riots were the natural outcome of recognized business principles and community viewpoints.

The exploiting of labor, black and white, regardless of its human qualities, is an old story in the development of American industry. It is confined to no particular section; neither is race prejudice. East St. Louis is not the only community which measures human values in population statistics, busines fluctuations and bank balances.

There was a whirlwind of barbarism raised in East St. Louis but the wind had been sown with seeds of materialism, of purely material ideas of progress that considers human beings as commodities of the labor market and forgets that human life is more

sacred than property values, a materialism that has erased the word sin from its vocabulary.

UTICA N. Y. HERALD-DISPATCH
JULY 3, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS.

Many negroes have been killed in race riots which have been raging in East St. Louis, Ill., since Sunday night. They were shot down by mobs of white men as they fled from their homes, which the whites had set on fire. Two white men have been killed. Military rule was proclaimed last night, and 200 white men were arrested and locked up.

Race troubles began in East St. Louis late in May as a result of the heavy influx of negro labor. Labor leaders then expressed a fear that the negro labor was being imported to break anticipated strikes during the summer. On May 28 a crowd of white men demanded of the City Council that the negro immigration be stopped. Mayor Mollman tried to calm the crowd, saying that an investigation would be ordered. After the meeting had adjourned, white mobs stopped street cars, dragged negroes off and beat them. The next day State troops arrived. There was considerable disturbance the night of May 29, two white men and three negroes being shot. Within a day or two, order was restored, and a few days later the troops were withdrawn. An investigation by the State Council of Defense was made, and it reported that labor agents had induced negroes to come to East St. Louis from the South. This report was made public last Saturday. Up to that time there had been no serious indications of a renewal of the rioting.

For several days there had been evidences of bad blood, and on Saturday night minor clashes between whites and blacks had occurred. These clashes apparently alarmed the negro quarter of the city, or at least gave agitators a chance to organize the blacks for fighting. When word was telephoned to police headquarters yesterday morning that the ringing of a church bell had called armed negroes together, an antomobile loaded with police left for the scene to disperse the crowd. The police were met with a volley. Detective Sergeant Coppedge was killed and three policemen were wounded.

C. W. Wallace, editor of a negro religious publication, said he, a negro minister and a negro physician were returning from St. Louis Sunday night when they saw white "joy-riders" ride down a street inhabited by negroes and fire into the houses. The neighborhood was aroused and the negroes armed themselves. Wallace did not see the negro mob fire on an automobile filled with policemen yesterday morning, but said a witness told him the negroes thought when the police automobile stopped that it was the joy riders returning. The shooting began, he was told, before this misunderstanding was removed. It was mentioned that the officers were in plain clothes.

From the facts so far known it would appear that the whites were largely responsible for this serious disorder, and that, unless they are promptly prevented by the authorities, like disorders may follow in other parts of the country because of the importation of negro labor from the South. It is said that 350,000 negroes have left the South because of illtreatment there at the hands of the whites, thus causing a serious scarcity of labor there. The East St. Louis trouble would indicate, however, that wherever they go these negroes are likely to become victims of race prejudice. It is a blot on American civilization that it should be so, but a satisfactory solution of the problem does not as yet appear to be in sight. It is up to sane public opinion and a strict enforcement of the law to suppress the mob spirit.

THREE POLICE OFFICERS HELD IN RACE RIOTS

Grand Jury Accuses Sergeants Meehan and O'Brien and H. L. Wilson of Murder in East St. Louis.

ST. LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
AUGUST 16, 1917

L. A. KEANE OF ST. LOUIS CHARGED WITH KILLING

L. H. Davis, a Switchman, Is Said to Have Been Indicted In Connection with Shooting of White Man.

Indictments charging murder, it was reported last night in Belleville, were returned by the St. Clair grand jury against three members of the East St. Louis police force, Sergt. Cornelius Meehan, Sergt. Harry O'Brien and H. L. Wilson, a plain-clothes man. These are among the 68 indictments accusing 105 persons for complicity in the race rioting in July.

The policemen, it is said, are charged with killing one negro and wounding two others, one of these a woman whose arm was shot off, in the district called "The Island," on the morning of July 3. This is supposed to have been the incident in which policemen are alleged to have advised militiamen to shoot at negroes.

It is thought probable that Leroy H. Davis, a switchman, has been indicted on a charge of assault to kill. On the morning of July 2, it is alleged, Davis, one of the crowd assembled, near Illinois and Collinsville avenues, shot with a revolver at two negroes, one of the bullets hitting and seriously wounding Louis Hoege, a white man.

Davis Rescued by Mob.

Davis was arrested at the time by order of former Police Commissioner Nelson A. Schein, but was rescued by the mob. He was later rearrested, and is now out on bond.

It was learned last night that indictments have been returned against nine white men, who are at present in jail at Belleville, having been arrested under coroner's mittimuses, and that the capiases in the indictments were served on them yesterday. One of them is a St. Louisan, Leo A. Keane, who is said to be charged with murder and conspiracy.

According to reports he is declared to have been one of the two men who were accused of dragging Scott Clark, a negro, by a rope about his neck, at Fourth street and Broadway, on the night of July 2, and who were arrested by Col. E. P. Clayton of the Illinois National Guard. Clark later died of his injuries.

East St. Louisans Arrested.

The other men are all East St. Louisans. Herbert F. Weed, said to be accused in an indictment with murder, rioting and conspiracy, is declared to have been the other man who dragged the negro Clark. Harry Robinson, said to have been indicted three times for murder, and John Gow, alleged to have been indicted for murder, conspiracy and rioting, are reported to have taken part in the incident at Illinois and Collinsville, which caused the deaths of Lurizza Beard and Ed Cook, his stepfather, both St. Louis negroes.

Negroes Dragged from Car.

Cook, his wife, his stepson and two other negroes were on a street car returning at 1 p. m. to St. Louis from Eagle Park, where they had been on a fishing trip. They were spied by a crowd of white men near the Labor Temple at Illinois and Collinsville avenues, and dragged off the car. Robinson is said to be accused of the murder of Beard and Gow with that of Cook.

The latter's wife was severely beaten and would have been killed had not a white man thrust her into the ambulance with the bodies, thus enabling her to escape.

The two other negroes were shot and wounded, and one of the bullets fired in the melee hit and killed Abraham Keyser, a hardware merchant, who was standing in his door at 407 Collinsville avenue.

Lawyer Said to Be Indicted.

The other prisoners at Belleville, who are declared to have been indicted, are: Charles Hanna, charged with murder; Robert H. Kelley, a lawyer, said to be accused of arson, conspiracy and rioting; Joseph Dickerson, a furniture dealer, reported to be charged with murder, conspiracy and rioting; John Tish, said to be accused of conspiracy, rioting and assault to murder, and Otis Pigg, reported to have been indicted for conspiracy, rioting and assault to murder.

The accusation against Dickerson, it is declared, is that he helped hang an unidentified negro on Fourth street near Broadway. He was charged with murder on a coroner's mittimus, applied for and obtained a writ of habeas corpus, and his bond was set at $8000. He was unable to obtain it and remained in jail.

Pigg, it is said, is accused of attempting to murder Robert Horn, a negro, on the Bunkum road.

Open-Air Luncheon Served.

A picturesque feature of the visit of the Americans was the open-air luncheon served in Green Park, which is the center of the fashionable section, overlooked by Buckingham Palace on one side and the Picadilly clubs and ducal residences on the other sides. Hundreds of tables with white cloths were spread and hundreds of waitresses attended the soldiers, whose arms were stacked about the tables.

While they ate thousands of persons gazed on the troops through the iron railings around the park, and the windows of all the clubs and the residences were filled with spectators.

Whenever English girls could get near enough to the soldiers they pleaded for buttons or regimental badges as souvenirs. They got many of them.

Brockway Is Released.

Richard S. Brockway, a claim agent for the East St. Louis and Suburban Railroad, who was the first white man arrested under the riot indictments, was released last night on $2000 bond. It was stated at the company's offices that he had ceased to be employed there, following his arrest, which occurred Tuesday night.

It is expected that the remainder of the capiases for the arrest of persons accused of complicity in the riots will be in the hands of deputy sheriffs in East St. Louis this morning, and that many arrests will occur today.

It is rumored that one of those named is the former night chief of police, Cornelius P. Hickey, and one or more well-known men in the City Hall. The names of the others indicted have not yet been made public, but it is known that, of the total number, eighty-two are whites and twenty-three negroes.

Men Will Furnish Bond.

In each case, it is stated, the deputies will permit arrested persons to furnish bond without being taken to Belleville, the officers being authorized to accept bail in the amount noted on the order for arrest. Men who thought they had reason to expect arrest were busy yesterday enlisting bondsmen.

Judge Crow has fixed the amount of bail on each charge, as follows: Two thousand dollars on the charges of conspiracy, assault to murder and arson, and $1000 for the charge of rioting. In the cases of several men who are charged under several heads, or are indicted several times for the same offense, the bail may run up as high as $10,000. Murder is not a bailable offense, except that in the discretion of the court a defendant may be admitted to bail if it appears that the case against him cannot be substantiated.

James A. Farmer, a former state's attorney of St. Clair County and now an assistant to the attorney general, has been named as a special prosecutor in the riot cases.

Sergeants Meehan and O'Brien and Patrolman Wilson were arrested some time ago by order of the coroner, and were lodged in jail at Belleville, where the prisoners, some of them sent there through the efforts of these officers, held a jollification meeting to welcome them. They were later released on bond, $5000 each in the cases of Meehan and O'Brien and $3000 in that of Wilson.

The capiases based on the riot indictments were placed in the hands of Sheriff Logan Mellon by Circuit Clerk J. P. O'Flaherty at 5 o'clock Tuesday evening. It took all day yesterday to complete the clerical work necessary in the sheriff's office.

N Y C SUN
JULY 13, 1917

NEGROES SEE ALIEN PLOT.

Ask Congressional Inquiry Into East St. Louis Riots.

WASHINGTON, July 12.—Vice-President Marshall laid before the Senate to-day a memorial presented to him in person by a delegation of negroes of Washington asking a Congressional committee be appointed to investigate the recent lynchings in Memphis, Tenn., and the riots in East St. Louis, Ill.

The petitioners declared it their opinion that the outbreak at East St. Louis was "a part of a deep laid conspiracy by the enemies of the United States to promote strife, bloodshed and revolution in the many communities North and West in which colored American citizens from the South have recently settled."

The petition, with a similar one from negroes of Baltimore, was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

N Y GLOBE
JULY 12, 1917

NEGROES ASK CONGRESS PROBE OF OUTBREAKS

WASHINGTON, July 12.—Vice-President Marshall laid before the Senate to-day a memorial presented to him in person by a delegation of Negroes of Washington, asking that a congressional committee be appointed to investigate the recent lynchings in Memphis, and the riots in East St. Louis.

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Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

The Illinois Incident

ATLANTA GA JOURNAL

JULY 4, 1917

One's first impulse in commenting on the East St. Louis, Illinois, riots is to remind certain self-righteous zealots of the Northern press of the opprobrium they have heaped upon the South in somewhat similar though far less aggravated circumstances. But the East St. Louis occurrence is too serious and deplorable a thing for sectional recrimination. For its own part, The Journal is not disposed to taunt that unfortunate community with charges of barbarism or admonish our erstwhile bitter critics that "it is a good divine who follows his own instructions." We feel sure that in Illinois, as in Georgia, prevailing sentiment is for law and order and justice; we know that there, as here, a whirl of passion cannot be taken as a fair measure of the broad current of a people's thought and life. To the right-thinking, representative people of that city, we leave the task of setting their house in order. They alone can do it, for theiy alone know the real elements of their problem.

But there is one outstanding fact which for the good of all concerned ought to be accepted as conclusive and acted upon accordingly. And the fact is this: the thickly populated industrial districts of the North are highly unfavorable if not highly dangerous for negroes bred and born to the ways of the South. Whatever criticism, valid or invalid, may be made upon the South's treatment of the negro, it can never be said that in this region he is denied the right to work or that he ever lacks food and shelter, except in cases extremely rare. The South is happily free from the labor conditions and problems that are often so acute in those parts of the country to which thousands of negroes lately have been lured. The South offers the negro no illusions, no tinseled promises like those which cunning labor agents from faraway cities dangle before him. But it offers him a climate whose winters he can endure. It offers him steady means of livelihood the seasons through, year in and year out, not merely a transient job that will be gone when the boom in munition making is over. It offers him, if he is thrifty and upright, an opportunity to own a home, a shop, a farm —an opportunity which many of his race have turned to good account. It offers him the helpfulness of a people who know him and whom he knows and who, for the most part, want him to have a fair deal.

Can it be said that Illinois or any other Northern State to which negroes have been migrating offer him these opportunities? We think not. What happened in East St. Louis would never have happened, from such causes, in the South. But it might have happened in any one of scores of Northern communities if the influx of negro labor had been as heavy in them as in East St Louis. And that problem and peril will continue as long as great numbers of negroes are enticed from the spacious, agricultural South, where they naturally belong, to the crowded industrial sections where they are woefully out of place.

THE EAST ST. LOUIS MURDERS.

Law, order and governmental authority were trampled under the feet of a murderous mob in East St. Louis Monday, to the shameful disgrace of the city and State. Anarchy and murder ruled the city for several hours.

Scores of negro men, women and children were killed or beaten and hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of property was destroyed without apparent effort to check the violence of the mob on the part of the police force and companies of the national guard sent to the city to maintain order and enforce the laws of the State.

Either from terror or sympathy with the mob, the police did nothing to check the mob's violence, but why were the forces of the national guard inactive until the mob had done its bloody work? Why was there not a bullet nor a bayonet used against the mob which freely used torch, club and bullet against negroes, regardless of age or sex or character?

If the word of Adjutant-General Dickson, who arrived after the mob had finished its work, is to be taken as evidence of the intent of the national guard officers the guardsmen lacked proper orders. Gen. Dickson is quoted as saying that the guard accomplished the purpose for which it was sent by arresting several hundred of the mob without the use of bullets or bayonets and if the guardsmen had used bullets and bayonets there would have been wholesale killings.

But there were wholesale killings and wholesale burning of property. The mob did the killing in defiance of law, when, if any killing was done, it should have been done in enforcement of law by the soldiers and police.

Why was the mob permitted to collect and begin its work? The critical time to stop the disorder was in the beginning. Having failed to check the gathering of the mob, why were not its members shot down when they began to kill negroes? Better that a thousand lawless murderers be killed in support of law and orderly government than that one citizen be killed by a lawless mob. The failure of the soldiers sent to sustain law and order and to use force for that purpose did not prevent bloodshed. It merely encouraged murder and arson.

It is hardly worth while to question the authorities of East St. Louis. They have failed utterly in their duty, for well-known causes. They have known of the gathering storm without taking effective steps to check it. They have never, except in spasmodic temporary efforts, enforced the laws. The bloody mob work of the disorderly elements of the city is the culmination of a long reign of lawlessness. Lawlessness and discrimination in law enforcement have been the foundation of political power in East St. Louis for years. The lawless elements have long been the masters of governmental authority and used their license without fear of restraint.

The State of Illinois, however, is responsible for consequences of Monday's outbreak. It assumed responsibility when Illinois guardsmen were sent to East St. Louis to maintain law and order. The State should inquire into the conduct of the officers in charge of the State's forces and hold every man guilty of failure to do his duty to strict accountability. This much, with the prosecution of the mob leaders, must be done for the future of civilization and law in the State.

Meanwhile we indulge the hope that Monday's lesson will be effective to prevent further mob violence. Hereafter, at least, neither false humanity nor political weakness should restrain soldiers sent to sustain law and order from using bullets and bayonets on murderous mobs or individ

LEAGUE DRAWS UNIONS FIRE CHARGES DENIED

Guardian 7/7/17

NAT'L. SEC'Y. AMER. FED. OF LABOR ANSWER TELEGRAM OF BOSTON BRANCH OF NAT'L EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE SENT PRES. GOMPERS—SENDS TO RYAN AND TROTTER REPLY GIVEN TO PRESS BY SEC'Y. ILLINOIS LABOR FEDERATION—FAIL TO MEET ISSUE OF SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENT-COLORED.

(Herald Bureau, Washington, July 5.)

Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, today denied the charge made by the Equal Rights League of Boston that the recent outrages committed against Negroes in East St. Louis were perpetrated by labor unionists. In a letter to Messrs. W. W. Ryan and W. Monroe Trotter of the league, Mr. Morrison said:

"Because of President Gomper's absence from this city. I herewith acknowledge your telegram of July 4, in which you charge East St. Louis labor unionists' with committing the recent outrage against Negroes in this city, and in which you call on President Gompers to declare your (his) position..

Telegram to Gompers.

"Your attempt to secure publicity, regardless of the facts, has evidently been noticed by Mr. Victor Olander, secretary-treasurer of the Illinois Federation of Labor, Chicago, who has just forwarded this telegram to President Gompers, which you will please consider my answer to your telegram to President Gompers.

Ill. Labor Secretary issues answer for Gompers—Hot Denial, but Dodges issue of murders.

"'Chicago, Ill., July 5, 1917.

"'Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

"'Press dispatches allege Negro Equal Rights League of Boston has telegraphed to you charging trade unionists with responsibility for East St. Louis riots. Any such charge is viciously untrue. It was the East St. Louis Central Labor Council, including locals having Negroes in membership, that requested the investigations by the state council of defense following the disorders in May. Investigations showed that southern Negroes had been misled by false advertisements and unscrupulous employment agents to come to East St. Louis in such numbers that they could not secure either work or decent living quarters. The effect was to make acute the exploitations of labor, both Negro and white, and to seriously disarrange social as well as economic conditions and to arouse bitterness on all sides.

"'The chamber of commerce was urged by one of its own officers weeks ago to use its influence against the campaign of misrepresentation and false promises responsible for the influx, but the chamber took no action.

Shocked by League's Attitude—Surprised League Condemns Murder and not poor housing conditions.

"'It is shocking to me that such organizations as the alleged Negro Equal Rights League have little or nothing to say about the fraud practiced against Negroes by unscrupulous employing interests, that such associations remain discreetly silent while southern Negroes were cheated into leaving their homes for northern cities and towns already overcrowded, exhibit no concern regarding miserable living and working conditions which many Negroes are forced to endure under such circumstances and offer no protest against vicious exploitations of labor through which blacks and whites suffer alike.

Says Equal Rights League does not urge Colored to Join Hands.

"'The Illinois trade union movement is striving to organize the workers of both races. Dany of our local unions have Negro members some exclusively and Negro delegates attend our conventions and central bodies, but I have not learned of a single instance here where such associations as the Negro Equal Rights League have sided on encouraged Negro workers to join together for the purpose of self help in trade unions, to prevent exploitations, to secure recognition of economic rights to obtain improvements in working conditions, shorter hours or better wages.

Seeks to Involve Colored Labor Unionists.

"'On behalf of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and its entire membership of both races, I protest against the rank injustice of the charge alleged to have been made by the league and I characterize that charge as unqualifiedly false and untrue.

"'V. A. OLANDER.
"'Secretary-Treasurer.'"

NEGROES LIST FINERY AS LOST IN RACE RIOTS

Claims Against East St. Louis Include Much Cut Glass and Many Silk Shirts.

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
AUGUST 31, 1917

East St. Louis officials who have been receiving claims filed by negroes for damages to their persons and their property suffered during the recent race riots, express surprise at the apparent luxury in which some of them lived, and at the costliness of their belongings.

A negro woman who lived in a district burned included, in the list of property lost by her, a cut glass water set, cut glass wine set, cut glass cocktail set, Cluny lace centerpiece and a seven-piece linen lunch set, for a total of $77. The cost given for men's suits destroyed ranges from $15 to $75 each. Several hundred silk shirts were burned up, if the claims are correct, and several hundred Panama hats.

One negro woman's wardrobe included, in the articles lost, three suits, two dresses, eight petticoats, nine waists, three pairs of shoes three linen skirts and four kimonos, besides a watch bracelet, diamond ring, gold locket, silver toilet set and silver manicure set. The total claims amounted to $607, although her house was not burned.

Robert Reynolds, formerly of Tenth street and Piggot avenue, filed a claim for $800 for a "right arm and a right leg, destroyed by a mob." The limbs were artificial.

Another negro, claiming $5000 for the death of his brother, states the brother "was killed and permanently disabled." More than 30 claims for loss of life have been filed, including a claim for $5000 by the family of William Kayser, a hardware merchant, who was killed by a stray bullet.

The total claims now amount to about $500,000, and others are coming in steadily. The law provides the city must pay three-fourths of the value of the property destroyed, and for all the lives lost.

The City Council will pass on the claims, and decide whether they shall be paid, or whether the city shall allow suits to be filed against it.

EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS ARE DENOUNCED BY CHURCH MEMBERS

CINNATI O TRIBUNE
LY 6, 1917

The attitude of the negroes of Cincinnati regarding the race riots in East St. Louis was expressed by F. M. Russell, principal of the Douglass School for Colored Children, in an interview.

"The East St. Louis affair is much out of place, especially at this time," said Mr. Russell. "The colored people deplore the affair because of the strange relationship it may bring about, when we should all be at harmony and working together to bring the war to a speedy and successful end.

"The colored people have at all times supported the flag and stand ready at any time to support the President in any action he may take. They will stand behind him solidly for the preservation of law and order."

The congregation of Allen Temple, A. M. S., composed of about 600 members, adopted the following resolution regarding the riot at their services Sunday morning:

Whereas, There has recently occurred a riot in the city of East St. Louis, Ill., in which many of our race were brutally murdered in the most shocking manner;

Whereas, Judging from newspaper accounts there was general apathy and gross neglect of duty shown by the police and the State guards, whose sworn duty it was to maintain order;

Whereas, Our country is now engaged in a great war for democracy thruout the world;

Therefore, Be it resolved, that we go on record as condemning most severely this shocking display of brutality and barbarism by some of the citizens of East St. Louis, Ill.

Be it also resolved, That we condemn the cowardice and neglect of those sworn officials of the law who tolerated and condoned open offenses against law and order and denied protection to those they should have safeguarded.

Be it resolved, That in this national crisis when only harmony and the spirit of brotherhood and unanimity of thought, feeling and action should be maintained in the support of the President and the great cause our common flag represents, that we call upon all good Americans, irrespective of color, in the city and in this country to do all within their power to bring about the maintenance of law, order and harmony in our citizenship.

Be it further resolved, That we express our appreciation and gratitude to the editors of those newspapers in our city and elsewhere who have, thru their editorial columns, condemned the outbreak at East St. Louis, Ill., and also that we call upon them as the great molders of public opinion to take a forceful stand at all times for sanity in race relationships and for the principle of a square deal for all citizens, to the end that our country may never find itself disgraced by riotous outbreaks or orgies of bloodshed and that such disturbances in this country may finally disappear. To this end we also solicit the support of all ministers of the Gospel and every religious influence.

(Signed.) REV. D. P. ROBERTS, D.D.
F. M. RUSSELL.
W. S. MARTIN.
R. E. FRAZIER.
G. M. PRYOR.
A. G. GASTON.

EAST ST. LOUIS LOOKS LIKE WAR ZONE CITY

Adjt.-Gen. Dickson, in Mayor's Office, Keeps in Touch with His 2,200 Men.

FIRE IS LAID TO NEGROES

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS
LY 5, 1917

BY FRANK E. ARMSTRONG.

[Special Dispatch from a Staff Correspondent.]

East St. Louis, Ill., July 5.—Besieged cities in Europe do not present a more warlike appearance than does East St. Louis to-day. Army headquarters has been established in the city hall. Adjt.-Gen. Dickson has his office in Mayor Mollman's on the first floor. Sixteen telephone connections keep the adjutant in touch with 2,200 militiamen on guard. The lawn in front of the city hall has been transformed into a camping ground. Every inch of the green is covered with shelter tents. On the Fourth of July rostrum in this public park the soldiers have their mess. The soldiers were about at sunrise to make ready for the activities of protecting the business life of this manufacturing center, which boasts a population close to 100,000. The population has doubled in less than ten years.

The industrial activity of the place has made the labor problem a difficult one and the unbiased lay the riot at the door of capital and labor, with the union leaders fighting the colored man.

hCicago Men Save the Day.

Col. Garrity's men of the 2d regiment from Chicago saved the day. They broke the backbone of the mob leaders, both colored and white. They are the real fighting soldiers here. Their arrival yesterday morning served notice on the anarchists that rioting must not go on. The ringleaders after looking over Garrity's command took the words of Maj. Philip Gerrard for their full worth. Gerrard is in command of the detachment of the 2d since Col. Garrity is ill in Chicago. Gerrard has under his command companies I, K, L, M, G and B. The correspondent of The Daily News after a tour of the razed colored districts that were fired Monday and Tuesday received some idea of the sacking of towns in the European war zone. The pillage was complete. Squares of what had held homes of colored people were wiped out. An iron bed here and a stove there, a bathtub or a bed spring—these were all that were left to tell of a former human habitation. They were wooden shacks and the incendiaries did their work well.

Three Negroes Burned to Death.

"Here three colored men were burned to death," said a man. "Who knows how many more dead were in that block."

In South Broadway more than a square is littered with iron beds and the walls only are left standing of the old Broadway theater, which had been out of use for some time.

Another Fire Breaks Out.

Another fire broke out here this morning when the soldiery had about come to believe their troubles were over with race riots for the time being. This new blaze had the authorities worried again. East St. Louis is sleeping on a volcano and the citizens are wondering where to look for the next outbreak.

The count of the dead swelled the amount of bloodshed in Monday's and Tuesday's carnival of racial hatred. The official death list numbers forty-two, including four whites. The early morning blaze was outside the colored belt and the militiamen began an investigation of its cause. A big patch of the colored belt was burned Tuesday. They suspected that some of the colored leaders might have applied the torch in the latest fire, which was off Illinois street in the south end of the city, where only a few colored persons live.

Fake Report Agitates City.

Nerve-racked East St. Louis was routed out of bed at 1 o'clock this morning by a false alarm sounding a new invasion of colored rioters. Adjt.-Gen. Dickson was aroused from his bed in the Illmo hotel and several hundred militiamen were summoned to stop the imaginary invaders, reported to be just outside the city, 5,000 or 6,000 strong, armed to the teeth. A motorcycle policeman is credited with having spread the alarm.

Lansdowne, a residence section of East St. Louis, was alarmed at the reported invasion. Men and women were fear stricken. The men carried revolvers and guns. The streets in the neighborhood of Waverly, Forest and Audubon avenues were lined with men and women pleading with the militia to save them and their children.

Adjt.-Gen. Dickson was incensed when he learned there was no basis to the report.

Three Bodies Found in Creek.

The bodies of three negroes, horribly mutilated, were found in Cahokia creek yesterday, this being the first confirmation of reports that in many cases members of the mob threw bodies of their victims into the creek.

That the total list of dead may reach three figures is conceded by many persons in East St. Louis. The police still

Developments in Race Riots.

Summarized, these developments stand out in the rioting which has turned East St. Louis into a living arsenal:

Arrival of the 2d regiment forces from Chicago put the lid on the mob leaders and most of them got out of the city when the Chicago soldiers arrived yesterday morning.

East St. Louis coroner's inquest reveals that three negro "armies" had planned onslaught on white population on the Fourth.

Four members of the colored mob that shot to death Detective Sergeant Coppedge and Sergt. Wodley give names of negro leaders and prominent mob members.

Congressman Dyer to introduce resolution in congress calling on President Wilson to direct that army officers investigate need of greater protection in East St. Louis.

White Man Beaten and Trampled.

White St. Louisan beaten and trampled by East St. Louis negroes at Easton and Compton avenues.

Three hundred and ten homes of negroes, in colored district destroyed by fire and negro speaker arrested for urging 100 refugees from east side to take revenge on whites.

Chamber of commerce of East St. Louis to take up question of having employers of east side plants discharge colored labor.

Col. George H. Hunter of central department of United States army at Chicago arrives to investigate and to learn if intervention of federal troops is needed.

Three women attacked by negroes, one of them being beaten so badly she may die.

Twenty-two hundred guardsmen on duty and officers declare situation well in hand and worst is over.

Three White Women Attacked.

Reports that three white women had been attacked by colored men during the heat of the rioting fanned the racial flames anew to-day. St. Louis papers carried stories saying that this news had been suppressed yesterday, fearing further outbreaks might result. Only the name of one white woman supposed to have suffered at the hands of colored men was given. It was Mrs. Maude Isom, 2604 Market street.

The federal and state governments are well represented here and every block of the main thoroughfares in East St. Louis is being picketed by militiamen. Col. Hunter, chief quartermaster of the central division of the United States army, is the personal representative of Gen. Thomas H. Barry, stationed at Chicago. Adjt.-Gen. Dickson heads the state authorities on the ground. He is the personal representative of Gov. Lowden.

Federal Inquiry Is Begun.

Col. Hunter will investigate the charges that militiamen stood by and let the massacre go on. He will take up these questions:

That militiamen watched without interference the murder of colored persons during the massacre Monday night.

That militiamen, as eyewitnesses assert, in some cases fraternized with the mob.

Whether the officers in command of the troops in East St. Louis Monday night are to be upheld by the military authorities for their behavior in the crisis.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis.

BUCYRUS O EVE TELEGRAPH
JULY 5, 1917

THE MOB SPIRIT.

The troubles at East St. Louis are a bad advertisement for a perfectly good section of the country. The outbreak is the result of too much agitation along a certain line and too little consideration for the rights of others. What a wonderfully big and fruitful country this is, and what an opportunity everyone has to make good at anything in which he is interested and to which he gives his undivided attention.

The world will little note the underlying causes which have brought about the disgraceful condition at East St. Louis. There may be some merit behind the contentions of the rioters. But the taking of the law into their own hands, and the killing of men and women, even though they are guilty of something meriting severe punishment, is naturally bringing discredit on both the states of Illinois and Missouri. For though East St. Louis is in Illinois, many people get the idea that it is a part of St. Louis, Missouri, and both states bear the blame for the condition and the slaughter.

Killing people in large or small numbers because of a fancied grievance or for a real reason is not to be tolerated in a land where we are all working under the provisions of a constitution which prescribes "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" as a right for every one who carries himself properly and pursues his work faithfully.

The mob spirit grows out of a disturbed feeling. A grievance is agitated into a great cause, and men, work themselves into frenzy by association with those who feel their grievance is of greatest possible importance. The only way to avoid such mobs is to get away from mob thought and to think deliberately about the actions of the moment so that the rights of all may have due consideration.

Taking thought of the consequences will prevent frenzied action. Deliberate judgment must be the final test of good citizenship. A willingness to abide by the decisions of the courts proves the capacity of the man for independent citizenship. What we gain by civilization is mental poise and moral balance. What we gain by mob rule is frenzy, pillage, murder and imprisonment.

There never was a time when calmness of citizenship was so necessary as now. Every disturbance of local peace and harmony is just that much of a detriment to efficiency and happiness. The mob has no place in the Twentieth century. It has no value as an arbiter, and no rights which the law will respect. It is the weapon of force, rather than the argument for a given course. It is better to "stop, look and listen" than to rush into the execution of threats and the promotion of unrest. No country can afford to tolerate such a condition, and no community can be excused for sympathy with such actions.

CHICAGO ILL EVE POST
JULY 7, 1917

THE NEW SOUTH SPEAKS.

Here is an editorial on the East St. Louis outrage which shows that the South is doing some clear thinking along the hopeful lines of which we spoke yesterday. It is from the Nashville *Tennessecan:*

The emigration of the negro from the South is proving a very serious problem for all concern. We can ill afford to have our negro labor, irresponsible as in some cases it is, absorbed by other sources; and, most of all, we have a moral obligation to protect and care for a race which we alone seem to understand. It is true that we have woefully failed in the performance of this duty in regard to the race as a whole, for we have lacked the vision to regard them collectively, contenting ourselves with the indulgence of the few individuals we come in contact with in our daily lives.

We have accepted their services at very low wages, tacitly admitting their right to help themselves to anything they could find unprotected. Our attitude toward them has been that of a father who does not provide an allowance for his college son, but who is willing to make reparation for any misdemeanor growing out of the son's desire to obtain funds.

How often we have remarked "I do not see how any of them live," and have gone contentedly on, apparently not caring.

Such a careless attitude is no longer possible if we would not lose our labor altogether. We must wake up to the situation, which demands adequate wages to make honest living possible, and enough intelligent interest in their social welfare to teach them sane and safe habits of health and housing.

There is no wonder that we have been largely criticized by visitors for the squalid surroundings we have allowed our negroes to live in, and it is high time we make good our claim to the fact that we understand them, by giving them at least a part of the advantages they have been told they may expect to receive elsewhere.

Most noteworthy of all the brave admissions in the *Tennessecan's* editorial is the remarkable sentence, "We have accepted their services at low wages, tacitly admitting their right to help themselves to anything they could find unprotected."

The South itself in self-defense is adopting an attitude of open-mindedness, even of humility, toward the great national problem which happens to center below the Mason and Dixon line. It is beginning to perceive that such things as living conditions and fair wages are as much a part of the problem as black skins and "an inferior civilization."

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 18, 1917

CAUSED BY DRINK.

The Coroner's inquest over the killing of a young man by a member of the military guard in East St. Louis reveals the fact that drink was responsible. The slayer alleges that the young man he killed was under the influence of liquor and attacked him. He is alone in this. Other witnesses say that the slayer and two other soldiers were drunk, and that he was drinking beer out of a bottle when he met the victim and undertook to display his authority, which resulted in his stabbing the young man to death. He was not on guard duty at the time and had no right to interfere with the young man and his companions while they were doing nothing wrong. A befuddled brain led him into the deed. So, whichever story we accept, we are faced by the fact that it was drink which is responsible. That it was the soldiers who were drunk there seems to be little reason to doubt.

There is a slackness of military discipline in this matter of drinking, especially when soldiers have important duty to perform in guarding life and property. It is a theory of the army that when a soldier is off duty, and especially when out of camp, his personal liberty should not be abridged, that he should have the same freedom to drink as any citizen, being held responsible for his conduct only. Thus it is made a serious offense for a soldier to be drunk while on duty, but not at all to be drunk while off duty. This soldier was drunk while off duty, interfered with a citizen and killed him. A soldier, like a policeman, can never sever himself from his official character. He is always a soldier and always has the responsibility of one. He should not be permitted to become drunk. A commanding officer who has command of a detachment of soldiers engaged in special guard duty, whether it be to prevent riots or to guard a bridge, who permits his soldiers to drink, is not discharging his full duty as a commander.

The army must take a new stand on this question of drink, as it affects the efficiency of the men and the army as a whole. Legislation has been enacted making it an offense to sell a drink to a soldier in uniform. Dry zones are being established around military posts. The army should go a step farther and make it an offense for the soldier to take a drink. These are days when efficiency is the watchword. Only the efficient win, the efficient individual, the efficient company, the efficient army. An army befuddled with drink both Congress and the War Department has declared to be inefficient. Laws and regulations are in effect to prevent it, excellent regulations governing the conduct of the men themselves. That is the next step to take. It takes two to make a soldier drunk, the man who sells and the man who drinks. The penalty should fall upon both. Such a scene as that in East St. Louis should never again be enacted where a United States soldier is a participant.

EAST ST. LOUIS CONDITIONS.

In undertaking to reorganize the Police Department and to put the government of East St. Louis on a law-enforcement basis the Chamber of Commerce of that city has started in the right direction.

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 7, 1917

The job of cleaning up the city and establishing law and order is difficult but necessary. It will take time and strenuous, courageous work. At the bottom of the wretched conditions which have brought such deep disgrace upon East St. Louis and Illinois is rotten politics. The lawless elements have controlled the city through the political machine. Law-breaking privileges have been given to lawless and corrupt men in exchange for political power.

The importation of negroes was the occasion of the recent race troubles, but the fundamental cause of the wholesale murders and assaults of Monday was the long reign of lawlessness under lax city government. The laws were not enforced and the law breakers had a well-founded contempt for the officers of the law. The lawless elements thought they could do what they pleased without interference and the climax of brutal horrors proved that they were right. The national guard of the State succumbed to the atmosphere of lawlessness which enveloped the city.

Maurice V. Joyce emphasizes all that the Post-Dispatch has said to this point in commenting on East Side conditions. He describes the Police Department as "incompetent, inefficient or worse." He says the impression has gone abroad that "law violations would be winked at or ignored" by responsible officials. "By lawlessness," he says, "I mean the wide-open and flagrant operation of gambling houses, winerooms, immoral resorts and dives of all kinds." Both blacks and whites, he says, of the baser kind were convinced they could do what they pleased.

This is a dark picture—as dark as anyone outside of East St. Louis has painted the conditions in the town.

These conditions must be changed radically. It will take hard, persistent work. A political revolution may be needed. But it can be done and it must be done by the law-abiding citizens if East St. Louis is to be redeemed and made a fit place of residence.

Meanwhile the State of Illinois must do its work of punishing the murderers and the responsible officers who failed to stop wholesale murder.

The city should be made safe for every law-abiding person of any color or condition and unsafe for every lawless person of any color or condition.

More than a month has passed since the awful slaughter of the innocent at East St. Louis, and nothing definite has been done to bring to trial and punishment the perpetrators of this outrageous slaughter of helpless people. These murderous traducers

of American law are now at liberty and they are not at all apprehensive. Notwithstanding the State Attorney says that these rioters must hang, the public in general has about settled down to the conclusion that nothing will be done. Absolutely nothing. Law is no stronger than the public sentiment behind it for its enforcement, and public sentiment in East St. Louis is lawless. Is it surprising therefore that out of a Negro population of 15,000 prior to July 2 that there is now less than 1,500? There are those who think that the Negroes should remain in East St. Louis and we, too, share the opinion that the Negroes should not leave. But it is perfectly natural for people to desert a community where they feel insecure and where they have ever before them the panorama of the slaughter of their kith and kin and the burning of their homes. Is it to be supposed that even the remnant will remain as a convenient sacrifice when the mob desires to execute them on the altar of savagee barbarism? Hardly! These people apply the instinct of self-protection.

CHICAGO ILL. HERALD
JULY 6, 1917

The Shame of Illinois.

Chicago, July 4.—To the Editor: I have taken the HERALD and its predecessors more or less for thirty-five years, and I generally like its policy and tone, or I would not take it. But I am surprised and disappointed at its editorial on the East St. Louis crime and blunder. I have no doubt that politicians are partly responsible, and no doubt that, as Jack Lait said, trouble is soon to come from a large influx of negroes into almost any northern community. But, whatever the causes or the explanation, the sad, shameful, disgraceful fact is that any civilized, not to say Christian, community should be guilty of such cowardly, inhuman, brutal outrages on a helpless, inferior race.

I am ashamed of Illinois, the state of Lincoln, of Grant, of Logan. I heard today quotations from the Declaration of Independence, and I thought of the irony of it all in view of what has so lately happened. We all have been horrified at the butchery of the Armenians by the "unspeakable" Turk, by the deportation of Belgians by the Germans, by the murder of women and children by torpedoes and Zeppelins. But our mouths are stopped if, without the excitement of war, we tolerate more barbarities than these. I hope Governor Lowden will cashier the officers and disband the militia, and in some way punish the city and county officials for their disgraceful neglect of their plain duty. L. M. BELDEN.

Of course, when Mr. Belden wrote the above he had not seen the HERALD's editorial of July 5, "It Must Not Stop There!" The editorial of July 4 covers one aspect only.

SYRACUSE N Y JOURNAL
JULY 6, 1917

THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

The race riot in East St. Louis has made every American citizen realize the fact that we have in the Negro one of the most serious social problems by which this country is confronted.

There are 10,000,000 Negroes in the United States and they are rapidly increasing. They increased something like 1,000,000 during the past ten years. The wildest guesses imaginable have been made as to the future of the Negro race. Some people think that they will ultimately die out. As a matter of fact, during the past 60 years, they have increased nearly threefold.

The increase of the Negro is but little below that of older civilized nations; England's increase being but 12 per cent. for the last decade. The increase in the Negro population was something over 11 per cent. during the past ten years.

It is unfortunate that systematic efforts are being made to bring the Negro from the South to industrial work in the North. He is better adapted as a class for work on the farm than for work in the city or town. The last census reports of the Federal government brought out the surprising fact that Negro farms in the South have increased 20 per cent., while the Negro population increased only 10 per cent. throughout the entire country.

ROTTEN LOCAL POLITICS.

Amid the horror at East St. Louis the part which rotten politics played as a contributing cause becomes more and more apparent. Already it is plain that but for an abominable system of municipal government this evil blot would never have besmirched the good name of Illinois.

The decent citizens of East St. Louis are like decent citizens everywhere. But they allowed their city government to become diseased. Now they are suffering from the infection. They ought to have foreseen the inevitable scandal. They ought to have known that their city was jeopardizing its own prosperity when haunts of vice and debauchery were permitted to flaunt their infamies. They ought to have known that East St. Louis could not offer a refuge to prostitutes and the saloons too tough for St. Louis without paying a penalty.

The decent citizens were not impotent to check these wrongs. The same injunction and abatement law which makes Chicago uncomfortable for recognized prostitution applies to East St. Louis. One public-spirited citizen, one energetic lawyer, one fearless judge, might have cleansed the town. But East St. Louis preferred to enjoy the profits of debauchery. It will now pay the losses.

All Illinois knew that out of the canker of unspeakable vice corrupt politics had grown. Stories of voters colonized and bought are not new. At the last general election they were common property. And now that price, too, is being exacted.

Race prejudice, admittedly, might have developed in East St. Louis even though its government had been model. The general movement of negroes from the South north and westward might have had that effect. But race prejudice could never have expressed itself so hideously if rotten local politics had not prepared an inviting environment. Riots fail to occur where energetic public officials zealously perform their duties.

East St. Louis during years to come will atone for its neglect and its sin. And now the decent people in other viciously governed cities ought to take warning. Other houses ought to be put in order. One such exhibition is enough.

CHICAGO ILL. TRIBUNE
JULY 6, 1917

GO TO THE BOTTOM.

As the story of the rioting in East St. Louis develops we find a condition which would discredit an invading army of barbarians. We have been shocked at Turkish atrocities, Bulgarian atrocities, Russian pogroms, German atrocities in Belgium and France. Well, here we have American atrocities without shadow of excuse, an American pogrom.

The worst of it is that it appears not to be a sudden convulsion of the those dark forces which still exist in the subconscious life of peoples. The riot was the culmination, the natural result of conditions deliberately created or permitted to exist for a considerable time. Vicious politics, corruption of the ballot, vice graft, weak police control, insolence, and law defiance, by blacks and whites, suspicion, hatred, and fear on both sides finally exploded in the disgraceful outbreak of the last few days.

The riot was a direct and inevitable result of unscrupulous political manipulation. It was made possible by a low order of political and social intelligence in the community. The decent people of East St. Louis were betrayed by the elements of political and business exploitation.

The insolence and violence encouraged in a low class of Negroes by politicians who used them for their own purposes has now been repaid many fold by the cruelty and violence of low class whites. The murder of harmless old men, the beating of innocent women and girls, the burning of houses and goods make a record which covers East St. Louis with dishonor and Illinois with shame.

The governor's determination to probe this event to its sources and to punish whatever responsible individuals can be found will have the earnest support of the public. The local officials, politicians, and agitators responsible for the growth of the conditions which came to their climax in this riot should be exposed and, if possible, punished severely. The very ineffective handling of police and militia should be examined and incompetent officials or officers should be unhesitatingly removed. The state will not stand for a whitewash.

N.A.A.C.P. RIOT FUND GROWING

St. Louis Argus.

Total Amount Donated to Date Is $717.40. $149.19 Spent on Immediate Relief Work

The activities of the St. Louis Branch of the National Association for the Advancements of Colored people are proceeding with unabated vigor. It is generally conceded that little or nothing is to be expected from the East St. Louis authorities in the way of bonafide prosecutions of the rioters. Therefore the burden falls upon us. The militant chacacter of this organization will not allow it to remain passive in the face of so great a responsibility.

All you who value your liberty and cherish the aspirations of the free born must lend your moral and financial support to the organization that will not keep silence in the presence of ruthless assault upon the lives and property of its people, and that will leave no stone unturned to bring the guilty rioters to justice to the end that it may establish without challenge the right of Colored men to order their lives after the manner of the highest type of free and law-abiding citizens.

Every man, every woman, every child of color is vitally concerned in the legal investigation and punishment of the East St. Louis rioters. Therefore without delay contribute your part of the two thousand dollars needed by the N. A. A. C. P. to do this work.

The committee on finance submits the following report of receipts to date for the East St. Louis Refugee Relief Fund:

Amount previously reported....	$507.65
Martha Gruening	10.00
W. T. Mumford Lodge, No. 2 K. of P.	10.00
Wayman A. M. E. Church....	1.50
A. M. E. Church, Palmyra, Mo..	2.00
Home Culture Club, St. James A. M. E. Church	26.80
Union Memorial M. E. Church.	57.70
Peoria, Ill., by Dr. J. A. Cotton.	101.75
Total.....	$717.40

Relief work under the direction of Mr. Paul W. Moseley to date:

Amount previously reported.... $116.52

Mike Berniger for moving Mrs.

Riots—1917

SEVERAL HUNDRED NEGROES BROUGHT ACROSS THE RIVER

Party of Men, Women and Children Escorted to West End of Eads Bridge.

SOME THROW AWAY ARMS

Municipal Lodging House Used for Temporary Care of the Refugees.

An officially conducted exodus of several hundred East St. Louis negroes to St. Louis took place shortly before noon today. The negro men, women and children who had been under the protection of Illinois militiamen in the East Side city hall since last night were rounded up and were marched, by the Eads bridge route, to this city. Two militia companies served as their escort.

The St. Louis Municipal Lodging House, 110-112 South Twelfth street, was opened to the refugees by order of acting Mayor Aloe, and $100 was taken from the Mayor's contingent fund for the feeding of the negroes there. A negro charitable organization, with an office near the city hall, did what it could to care for those who were directed to it. A meeting of city officials and Red Cross representatives was called for the purpose of providing for the needs of the destitute blacks in the next few days.

The refugees were of every age and size. There were infants in arms, and children pushed in buggies or pulled in express wagons. There were pickaninnies carrying pets, one hugging a small chicken.

There were white-haired men and buxom mammies, and there were men and women, young and middle-aged, who seemed unable to recover from the horror of yesterday's experiences, or to realize where they were going.

The fugitives carried hand baggage and household possessions of all sorts. Some talked of finding relatives or friends in St. Louis, and some were without any other thought than to get away from the town where, they felt, their lives might be no safer tonight than they were last night.

They were more than 20 minutes crossing the Broadway viaduct, which leads to the bridge approach. The two companies of soldiers would have been a scanty protection for so many negroes if the spirit of last evening had been shown by the white men along the streets, but there was no attempt to molest the pitiable procession.

At the St. Louis end of the bridge, a police guard inspected and searched the men, but permitted all to enter the city. Two negro men seized suit cases which travelers had laid down, and ran away with them, a policeman throwing his club after one of them in the attempt to stop him.

Earlier in the morning, smaller groups of negro refugees were taken into St. Louis over the free bridge.

One of the boys told of his home having been fired upon by the whites. He said that every time he ventured out on the street he was slapped or kicked. He and his mother finally packed some of their belongings and fled.

Among the refugees were several Southern negroes who said that they had been attracted to East St. Louis by advertisements for laboring men, offering good wages. The jobs were offered by steel plants, street railway companies and the aluminum ore works, they said. They did not know that their presence was not desired by the white inhabitants, they said.

Some of the men expressed intention of returning to the East Side after the present trouble is over, but the women declared that they would never cross the river again.

Policemen confiscated several weapons which were dropped on the bridges by the fleeing blacks. Two rifles and a half dozen revolvers were picked up and taken to Central Station. Chief Young this morning ordered an embargo on the sale of firearms by Market street dealers. Half a dozen negroes who carried weapons were held.

"Chickens Come Home to Roost."

East St. Louis is an Illinois city. Chicago is the home of the Tribune. Illinois is a Republican state. It was the home of many of the early abolitists. It was the home of men who damned and denounced the people of the South for their barbarous treatment of the southern negro.

Chickens come home to roost.

Three hundred thousand negroes have been lured from the South to northern cities within a year. The North is not the home of the negro. People of the North do not understand the negro. They love him at a distance. At home he is shown scant respect.

Thousands of negroes looked upon East St. Louis as a paradise. They filled the gaps of labor. They invaded the shops and the mills. Now a war of races is on. Military rule is the rule of the hour in the city just over the river from the Eades bridge.

A hundred negroes are dead. Hundreds are wounded and under guard. The damage to property in one night is place at $3,000,000. An Associated Press dispatch tells the story in these words: "Thus ended a day filled with terror and bloodshed in which mobs swept the street seeking negroes whom they might slay."

Hundreds of cabins occupied by negroes were given over to the torch, hundreds of negro women leading small children walked across the bridge to shelter and safety with friends on the Missouri side.

Missouri was a slave state.

More than half of its sons capable of bearing arms fought for the flag of the planters' republic. Missouri is a Democratic state. Its governor is a Democrat and a man who believes in the protection of life and property.

There are 11,000,000 negroes in the South. Hundreds of thousands of these negroes are property owners and wealth producers. They have hundreds of schools and colleges in the South. The southern white man taxes himself to remove the blight of illiteracy in the home of the black.

Should this exodus of southern negroes continue; should they flood the labor centers of the North, then the blacks are certain to clash with white working men and race wars in northern cities are certain to come in the future.

There are many problems before the American people today, many vexatious problems to be solved. A race problem is the most difficult of solution of all problems and the most dangerous of all problems because it leads to riot, bloodshed, anarchy, destruction of property and hell among the wage earners of the republic.

ILLINOIS CANNOT EVADE THE RESPONSIBILITY.

SAN ANTONIO TEX EXPRESS
JULY 5, 1917

If The Express were, by afterthought, sensible of any officious meddling in urging Federal military control of East St. Louis' brutally criminal mobs, failing proper control by the State of Illinois—which, of course, it was not—such feeling would be dissipated at once on reading that an identical attitude has been assumed by the Chamber of Commerce in the dangerously conditioned and painfully disgraced city. East St. Louis' representative business men, whose avocation has never been pistol-murder, lynch-murder and burning, have flatly demanded adequate protection from the Adjutant General of Illinois—"declaring that if the scenes of Monday night are repeated they will appeal directly to President Wilson."

Quick condemnation and identical demands concerning these horrors is the duty of every American newspaper, as it should be the part of every American authority charged with guarding the good name of his country by enforcing laws against public or individual acts that must work to its disrepute. "East St. Louis," the correspondents write, "is slowly awakening to the enormity of its crime in taking the lives of unknown scores of negroes." Their descriptions of the ruin and death partially apparent in Tuesday's daylight—and continued even then!—are no less revolting than their reports from the thick of this anarchy during the night preceding. This thing is amazing, incomprehensible. It may not even be compared with the occasional lynching of negroes further South, in punishment for heinous crimes. Because of the National stress that is upon us, because instances of un-American conduct on the part of any community must now seem more glaringly despicable than ever before, it must be said that the decent folks of East St. Louis have suffered an irreparable injury and the whole country is the victim of a shocking defamation.

Illinois, the State, cannot evade and should not seek to avoid responsibility for this criminal revolt against its peace and dignity, however heavy and bitter may be the consequences for which the city itself must answer in the payment of money damages, under the anti-riot statutes, and in the prisoning of many of its inhabitants. Race violence in East St. Louis has been the subject of ample forewarning latterly, not only through threats, but through murder and other crime outright. But there was little or no apparent forearming on the part of the State authorities, and it is less than reason to suppose that they had considered the city's police forces either strong enough or willing enough to avert public disturbance on such a scale as race rioting usually assumes. It appears that one Federal attorney already has indicated his determination to apply the punishment, if not the remedy, that the laws of the land provide; and State and county officers will only intensify the reprobation of the tragedy if they stand upon the order of their own activity in rendering doubly sure the assurance of punishment for these murderers and incendiaries.

Illinois will bear its part in the National duty of these times with better grace and a fairer standard if it shall do its utmost, by a genuine enforcement of its penal statutes, to erase some of the blackness of this blot that East St. Louis has spread on the record of the Commonwealth.

LABOR LEADER WARNS CHICAGO OF RIOT PERIL

Sees Grave Danger in Vast Influx of Blacks.

CHICAGO [illegible] TRIBUNE
JULY 4, 1917

A warning to Chicago and other northern cities, "where the same conditions which brought about such frightful results in East St. Louis exist," was sounded last night in a statement made by Victor A. Olander, secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor, and one of the members of the state council of defense.

Earlier in the day the council issued details of a report made to it by its labor committee, which investigated the first riots several weeks ago, and which backs up Mr. Olander's view in many respects.

Explanation Simplified.

"Southern Negroes were induced to come north in such numbers that they could secure neither work nor proper living quarters," Mr. Olander said. "Certain interests desired a surplus of labor on the market, and they got it. The effect was to make easier the exploitation of labor, both black and white, and to cause a sudden disarrangement of social conditions, which added to the bitterness.

"Organized labor protested. Its warning was unheeded. One of the officers of the East St. Louis chamber of commerce warned that organization weeks ago. He urged the chamber to use its influence to put a stop to false advertisements and other methods being used to mislead Negroes in the south for the purpose of bringing them to East St. Louis, but the chamber of commerce declined to act. The influx continued. You see the result.

Unemployment Here Growing.

"I don't care to say much about the situation here in Chicago, but there should be an investigation. Unemployment is increasing. Certain classes of employers are seeking cheaper labor—Negroes and women—on the pretext that additional labor is needed on account

of war conditions. As a result, thousands of white men are being thrown out of employment.

"Much of the story is told in the words of the president of one of the foundry companies in this city (the Tarrant Foundry company), whose employes are on strike. He is quoted as having said today:

"'Negroes are being imported to replace the strikers.'

"The most sinister thing about all this is that it is being done under the cloak of patriotism—'the national need.'"

PHILADELPHIA PA PRESS
JULY 4, 1917

THE EAST ST. LOUIS RIOT.

Nothing more discouraging, disturbing and depressing has occurred in this country in this generation than the race riot, the killing of negroes, and the burning of their homes in East St. Louis. The ineradicable barbaric instinct of a certain strata of American society finds easy, congenial and usually safe expression in mobbing, shooting and lynching negroes whenever a favorable occasion offers.

There is, of course, some pretext. Negroes do not possess the virtue of self restraint in high degree. There may be a killing, but a crime that would be personal between men of the same color becomes racial if one of them is a negro and indiscriminate vengeance follows, not on the original culprit alone or perhaps not at all, but on those of his color. Two white men were killed in this East St. Louis riot, while the negro victims of mob violence is reported to number over 200. It may prove to be much less than this, and we hope it is, but the discrepancy is great enough to show a wholly one-sided contest in which the whites were the assailants and the negroes the assailed.

The migration of negroes from the South to the North has caused a good deal of dissatisfaction on the part of white laborers in the localities, where these new laborers appeared in considerable number. East St. Louis is one of these places, and it is not clear that any greater provocation than the mere presence of these Southern negroes among them was needed to start the business of beating, shooting and killing them. The police could do nothing with the mob, and some companies of the Illinois National Guard were summoned, but they proved as ineffective and impotent as the National Guard nearly always is in such emergencies. It was a one-sided contest, and only ceased when the mob's lust for blood and destruction was fully satiated.

This occurrence is a black blot, a most shameful disgrace to the State of Illinois. The country will await with keen interest to learn what that State will do about it. The whole energy and power of the State should be directed to identify and arrest the rioters and execute remorselessly all who had any part in the taking of human life. The records of Tuskegee Institute show that there have been fourteen lynchings of negroes in the first six months of the present year in this country, which is fewer than in previous years, but this East St. Louis riot with its slaughter of negroes will make the year's list of the murder of negroes one of the worst on record. The pendulum has swung back, and the bloodthirsty barbarity and racial hatred manifested in this Northern State makes even the worst record of Georgia seem respectable by comparison.

HAYWARD BEGINS INQUIRY INTO RIOT

Commander of Negro Guardsmen Seeks Cause of the San Juan Hill Outbreak.

NEW YORK
JULY 5, 1917

Colonel William Hayward of the Fifteenth Infantry, New York National Guard, a negro regiment, announced yesterday that he proposed to have a thorough investigation made of the riot in the San Juan Hill district on Tuesday night, which grew out of the arrest of a uniformed soldier of the Fifteenth for refusing to move on when ordered by a policeman. Colonel Hayward expressed no opinion regarding the case, but when informed that a number of leaders among the New York negro population were coming to ask him to take it up, replied that he had already done so.

The trouble started when about twenty-five uniformed men of the Fifteenth, standing at Sixty-first Street and Amsterdam Avenue, were ordered to move on by Patrolman Hensen of the West Sixty-eighth Street Station. Most of them did so, but Private Lawrence Joaquin of 51 West Ninety-ninth Street began to argue the matter, and was promptly arrested. In the ensuing fight many white residents of the neighborhood took part, but the riot began, it is alleged, with an attempt at rescue by negroes.

Joaquin was later sentenced in the Men's Night Court to ten days' imprisonment on Blackwells Island. The same punishment was imposed on Vernon Cox of 121 West Forty-sixth Street, who, like Joaquin, was charged with disorderly conduct. Isaac Brown of 225 West Sixty-first Street, charged with attacking Patrolman Huben with a potato knife, was held in $1,000 bail for trial in the Court of General Sessions.

Frederick R. Moore, editor of The New York Age, the negro weekly, and the Rev. George H. Sims, pastor of Union Baptist Church, whose parishioners live in the neighborhood, announced yesterday that they had begun an independent investigation of the affair, and that besides appealing to Colonel Hayward they proceed to take the case up with Police Commissioner Woods.

"So far as we can ascertain," said Mr. Moore yesterday, "the men of the Fifteenth were entirely within their rights in standing on the corner. They were in uniform, were perfectly quiet and orderly, and were not interfering with traffic. Most of them moved on when ordered, purely out of a desire to avoid trouble, but we have not found anything indicating that Joaquin was not entirely within his rights in protesting against the order, or that he went beyond reasonable bounds in protesting.

"The Fifteenth is a picked regiment, composed of the very best, self-respecting, law-abiding negroes in New York. There never has been any complaint against the men of the regiment before, and if they are being unjustly treated because of their race we propose to find out about it."

Rodenberg Urges Probe Of Race Riots

(Associated Press.)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 3.--Federal investigation of the race riots in East St. Louis, Ill., July 2nd by a congressional joint committee was urged before the house rules committee today by Representative Rodenberg, of Illinois, and Dyer, of Missouri, and a delegation of negroes.

"The plain unvarnished truth," said Mr. Rodenberg, "is that civil government in East St. Louis collapsed and the ferocity, brutality and viciousness of the mob that committed the outrages beggars description. The police department joined the rioters and helped to shoot negroes. I am told the colonel in charge of the militia took no steps to handle the situation. A man in whose word I have confidence told me of a person who had been shot by a militiaman."

Representative Foster, of Illinois, member of the committee, announced that he today received a telegram from the governor of Illinois saying he was making a thorough investigation and that no man implicated in the outrage would be spared."

Mr. Rodenburg recommended that investigation be made by a federal court through a special grand jury empanelled for the purpose and he especially wanted Judge Landis to conduct it.

Mr. Rodenberg contended that congressional action would have a tremendous moral effect.

Threats within the last few days to burn the $10,000,000 plant of the American Aluminum Company at East St. Louis from which comes the clay for the aluminum used in manufacture of airplanes and other purposes at the various plants of the company, were disclosed by Mr. Rodenberg.

It developed during the hearing that a vigilance committee of two hundred East St. Louis citizens, fully armed, has been organized to supplement and assist the police in the suppression of any future rioting and the committee is prepared to act quickly in enforcement of order.

Representative Rodenberg said he expected the rules committee would report the resolution with a view to inquiry after September.

The Negro in the City

WATERBURY CONN EVE DEM
JULY 7, 1917

THE race riot in East St Louis has made every American citizen realize the fact that we have in the negro one of the most serious social problems by which this country is confronted. There are 10,000,000 negroes in the United States and they are rapidly increasing. They increased something like 1,000,000 during the past ten years. The wildest guesses imaginable have been made as to the future of the negro race. Some people think that they will ultimately die out. As a matter of fact, during the past 60 years, they have increased nearly threefold. The increase of the negro is but little below that of other civilized nations; England's increase being but 12 percent for the last decade. The increase in the negro population was something over 11 percent during the past ten years. It is unfortunate that systematic efforts are being made to bring the negro from the south to the large industrial centers in the north. The negro is probably much better fitted for work on the farm than he is for work in the city. The last census reports of the United States government brought out the fact that negro farms in the south have increased 20 percent, while negro population increased only 10 percent throughout the entire country. The real friends of the negro will try to persuade him to move onto the farm, for here he will have more ndependence than he will ever secure in the industrial cities or even in the smaller towns. There are exceptional negroes who will make good almost anywhere, but it is to be remembered that we are dealing with the one-tenth of the population of the United States which for many generations to come, will in many respects be inferior to the white race. Those who are constantly preaching equality of every sort for the negro race, are not the real friends of the negro. While the negro should have equality of opportunity, it by no means follows that he is born with the same endowment or capabilities as the white man.

BUFFALO N Y EXPRESS
JULY 4, 1917

WHERE FREEDOM IS A MOCKERY.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident," grandiloquently proclaimed the founders of the Fourth of July, "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

What a mockery must the Declaration of Independence seem to the surviving negroes of East Saint Louis!

Another stock quotation occurs at this point, though it will have to be paraphrased to make it fit: "Hath not a negro eyes? Hath not a negro hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter, as a white man is? If you prick him, does he not bleed? If you tickle him, does he not laugh? If you poison him, does he not die? And if you wrong him, shall he not revenge? If he is like you in the rest, he will resemble you in that. . . . The villainy you teach him, he will execute, and it shall go hard but he will better the instruction."

Heaven help America, Heaven help civilization if the black worm ever turns!

The negroes form one tenth of the population of this country. They own a fair and growing share of its property. They do more than their share of its work. They have fought in all of its wars. There are four regiments of them in the regular army. The Constitution puts them on an equality with the other races which inhabit the United States. In practice, they have no rights—political, industrial or social—that any white person is bound to respect.

The commonest accusation against black men is that they assault white women. At East Saint Louis white men (and white women, too) assaulted black women. Which race sank to the lower plane?

It was not "the one crime" that inflamed this Illinois settlement. The provocation was industrial. Black workers took the place of white strikers. As a rule, the trades unions will not admit negroes to membership. They force them to be scabs and then wonder that they take a job wherever they find one loose.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

COLUMBIA S. C. STATE
JULY 5, 1917

National Negro Segregation?

The protection of the negroes in the North and the punishment of the criminals who have killed them and have burned their houses are not less important to the white people of the South than to those of other parts of the country. Manifestly, if the negroes shall be denied admission as immigrants in the Northern States or if they shall be so harried and persecuted by Northern white men that life among them may not be endured, they will remain in the South. In that case the negro problem will continue almost exclusively Southern. It is a problem by reason of the immense numbers of negroes in the Southern States and its obvious solution lies in their dispersion. If the negroes shall be scattered throughout the 48 States, the evils flowing from the congestion of them in nine or ten States will be diluted and reduced and the way will be open for the South to progress politically and economically without embarrassment from them.

Whatever the hardships that the negroes suffer in the South now, they can hold the ground they occupy much easier than take new ground. If they are to be hounded and murdered in Northern cities, the northward movement will speedily be checked. If they are to be slaughtered in the North for refusing to join unions they may prefer to abide in their old homes even at the risk of a return of semi-slavery. No one in the South kills a negro for refusing to strike. Indeed, a negro in the South so enjoys and so frequently exercises the privilege of quitting work that perhaps the idea of combining for the purpose seems to his mind superfluous.

Informed and thinking Southern men would look upon a further deprivation of the negro's liberties as most unfortunate. Not all Southern white men belong to this class and it must be confessed that there is an element in our population that witnesses with glee the riot in East Illinois as a clear indication that Southern negroes will be prevented by the North from leaving the South. In other words, wherever there is a peon driver in the South, there will be a bolder and more heartless oppression of the negroes on account of the severe handling that the newcomers in Illinois have received. The exodus of the negroes from the Gulf States is the first incident in many years that has frightened that class of Southerners accustomed to take advantage of their black labor and if it shall appear that Northern police and Northern juries are unable or unwilling to protect black men in their jobs and homes their fears will vanish.

The Southern oppressors of negroes, whose numbers, by the way, have steadily decreased in late years, are the enemies of all labor, regardless of color. If they can hold the negroes in semi-bondage, the poor whites will be scarcely less their slaves. In the final reckoning it must be seen that economic laws draw no color line.

Apart from considerations of common decency and right, The State sincerely hopes that the whole power of the State of Illinois and of aroused public opinion throughout the North will be exerted in behalf of justice to the negroes in East St. Louis and to the infliction of swift punishment on the ruffians who have chased and murdered many of them. For the sake of the poor white people of the South The State wishes it. The North should not be allowed to persist in its lawless policy of national negro segregation. It should not be permitted to force the negroes back upon the South where white laborers are compelled to compete with them when, for the first time in the history of the country, a gleam of hope of relief from this well nigh unbearable burden is visible.

Judge Crow Rules Out Evidence that Negroes Were Armed on Streets

East St. Louis Riot Case I Expected to Go to Jury Saturday.

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
OCTOBER 19, 1917

All testimony tending to show tha negroes engaged in rioting in East St. Louis last July were going armed along the streets was ruled out by Judge G A. Crow in the Circuit Court at Belleville yesterday.

The cases on trial were those of John Dow, Harry Robinson and Charles Hanna on the charge of murdering William Kayser, a hardware merchant, who was killed in front of his store in East St. Louis by a stray bullet July 2 while the race riots were at their height. The defense attempted to show that it was possible that Kayser might have been killed by negroes living in an alley in the rear of his store.

Judge Crow ordered the jury taken out of the room when the state objected to this line of evidence. He then declared that it was admitted that there had been couner riots, but that these had nothing to do with the case at bar, since it was not contended that Kayser was shot in any other way except as described in the indictment.

The defense then set up alibis for the three defendants, and a number of witnesses were produced who swore the three men were at varions places other than on Collinsville avenue at the time Kayser was killed.

The defense asked that subpoenas be issued for Mayor Mollman of East St. Louis, Maurice Ahearn, Mollman's secretary, and Roy Albertson, a newspaper reporter. Just what the defense expects to show by these witnesses was not made known.

It is presumed that the men are wanted to tell about the general conditions prevailing in East St. Louis. The state will object to the introduction of any testimony along this line, basing its objection on the ruling by which the counter rioting by negroes was barred by the court.

The case is expected to go to the jury by noon Saturday.

SAN ANTONIO TEX. EXPRESS
JULY 4, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS AND THE COUNTRY'S WELFARE.

If the State of Illinois cannot or will not tear out the disgraceful, degrading tendency of one of its communities to act and look shambles-fashion, then the authority and force of the Central Government must be invoked.

We know there are a few regular army details of fearless Americans that could be spared to this business of defending the Nation's name and saving a portion of its people from the violence and degenerative moral effects of such vicious anarchy as East St. Louis has betrayed in the late past.

We are even sure there are whole batteries, troops or companies of Illinois National Guard that could and would go into East St. Louis, quickly make the howling mobs forget their six-shooter "bravery," and cause them to send up a howl of very different expression.

And we are quite certain that it is high time for the Illinois press, especially that of Chicago, to vary their ready censure and do a little missionary work at home in the way of a crusade against lynchings and other quicker forms of brutal murder by wholesale or retail. It is years since a Southern State has witnessed such a scale of crime and such circumstances of anti-negro barbarity on the part of a mob of whites!

The cause of East St. Louis' reign of terror, murder, and destruction by the torch is beside the point, whether it be the insolent offensiveness of blacks or the persecutive savagery of white roughs; whether it be local labor troubles or just sheer hatred of the negro race. For no community in the United States should thus render its name blacker than the skin of the human beings hunted in East St. Louis. Certainly no American community should tolerate such outbreaks of revolting violence at a time when its Nation is in crying need of domestic tranquillity; in need of the patriotic cooperation and civic decency of every man; in need of the might of every weapon that its industry can make and its citizens can use for the defense of a far greater issue than white or black "rights" of labor in a frightfully crime-ridden city of Illinois!

NEW YORK, WOMEN'S WEAR
JULY 20, 1917

LABOR NOTES

Labor Unions Must Uphold Law and Order, Theodore Roosevelt Tells Labor Leader — Refusal of Workers to Unionize and Strike Is No Excuse for Violence or Murder, He Says.— Although pledging himself to do everything within his power to secure the remedying of all wrongs of labor, regardless of any opposition, Theodore Roosevelt, in his open letter to Victor A. Olander, secretary and treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, tells the union chief that organized labor must uphold law and order. Mr. Roosevelt's letter to the labor chief amplifies his views concerning the rights of capital, labor and the public, as brought out by the negro race riots in East St. Louis, and over which he came almost to blows with Samuel Gompers in Carnegie Hall two weeks ago.

Colonel Roosevelt, in his letter, writes:

"It was Mr. Gompers' speech which first gave me clearly to understand that the fundamental cause (of the riots) was alleged to be economic, and that organized labor regarded itself as especially concerned with the riots. Then my attention was called to the newspapers of July 4, which carried an alleged statement by Mr. Michael Whalen, president of the Central Trades and Labor Councils of East St. Louis. If this statement is correctly reported, Mr. Whalen said, 'The chief objection to the negroes is that they would not unionize and would not strike.'

"I told with the utmost intensity of conviction that it is absolutely impossible for us to succeed along the lines of an orderly democracy, a democracy which shall be industrial as well as political, unless we treat the repression of crime, including crimes of violence, and the insistence on justice obtained through the enforcement of law, as prime necessities. I, of course, refuse, under any conditions, to accept the fact that certain persons decline 'to unionize and strike' as warranting their murder, or as warranting any kind of violence against them. But I go much further than this: I will aid in every way in my power to secure by governmental as well as private action the remedying of all the wrongs of labor, and in so acting I shall pay no attention to any capitalistic opposition.

"But I refuse to treat any industrial conditions as warranting riot and murder; and I condemn all persons, whether representatives of organized labor or not, who attempt to palliate or excuse such crimes or who fail to condemn them in clear cut and unequivocal fashion. I heartily believe in organized labor, just as and even more than I believe in organized capital."

New York.—Cloak and Skirt Examiners' and Finishers' Union Launches Big Membership Campaign. —Concentrated efforts are being made by the examiners' and finishers' union of the cloak and skirt trade in this city, to extend the membership of the union. An especially strong campaign has been launched, basing its plea on the advancing cost of the necessities of life as against the wages which have remained, so they say, at the same level as two (and three yars ago. A large mass meeting was held yesterday at which an appeal was made to the foremen of cloak, skirt and reefer shops that they should help the union in its work of finding new members.

New York. — Woman's Service League Recruiting Women Workers. —College women, teachers, home makers, and wage earning women of all sorts are being recruited by the National League for Woman's Service, 257 Madison avenue, for sum... work...

PHILADELPHIA PA PRESS
JULY 12. 1917

The East St. Louis Tragedy.

To the Editor of "The Press."

Sir:—Another great calamity has fallen upon the American people. A most unfortunate incident and most shameful in its nature and sequence. Unfortunate because of the world war in the East and that the black man—my race—is trying to do his part for right and justice by sacrificing his life alongside of our white neighbors. Shameful because the eyes of the world and especially our enemies are upon us.

It is a serious calamity, the way the white people of East St. Louis handed out their vengeance on my race. Like Jesus of Nazareth the black man has not "where to lay his head." Who can say that the black man is not loyal, industrious and humble? Still we die by mob violence in New York and Illinois as well as in South Carolina and Georgia.

The white people in my city, some of them are making excuses of dire criticism for the wholesale murder of their "Southern niggers" in East St. Louis. Is it sane for America to talk about universal place and still continue to murder its black citizens with the most barbarous and inhumane astrocities? What will be the feelings of the black children, who are to come on the earth fifty and a hundred years from date?

Germany is upset to-day from a cause dating back over a thousand years. We as a race love the white man and will follow him anywhere, and yet, the white man, with the law from legislation to execution of same; with officers and the keys to the lockups, continue to blacken America and the nation with horrible deeds.

REV. J. BURTON HARPER.
Principal Colored Industrial High School.
Rocky Mount, N. C., July 8, 1917.

N Y C SUN
OCTOBER 26, 1917

MAYOR "LAID DOWN" IN RIOTS, SAYS TRIPP

Illinois Militia Officer Himself Made Uneasy on Stand.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Oct. 25.—Col. Stephen Tripp, a member of the staff of Adjt.-Gen. Dickson of Illinois, to-day testified at the Congressional inquiry into the East St. Louis race riots of last July that he believed Mayor Mollman of East St. Louis "laid down" in the performance of his office while the rioting was in progress.

"I concluded that certain political influences were inducing him to keep out of it," Col. Tripp said in reply to a question by Representative Raker. Col. Tripp previously had testified that Mayor Mollman had designated City Attorney Fekete as his representative in handling the situation.

"Who ordered your men scattered out along the streets in bunches of two or three?" asked Mr. Raker.

"It was done on the orders of City Attorney Fekete," replied Col. Tripp, "and was against my judgment; but we were instructed to take orders from the Mayor."

"What were you doing at the City Hall for four hours in the morning while two men were being shot within a block of you?" asked Mr. Raker.

"I was mapping out a plan of campaign," replied Col. Tripp.

"A plan of campaign for sixty militiamen?" said Representative Cooper. "You could have planned half the battle of Verdun in that time."

Col. Tripp asserted that 500 rioters were arrested by guardsmen, but more than 400 were later freed by the police.

N Y C TRIBUNE
JULY 5, 1917

RACE RIOT GROWTH.

With thirty-three dead—twenty-nine them negroes—and hundreds wounded in East St. Louis it behooves the whole country to understand what caused the trouble.

Last summer 4,500 white men went on strike in the packing plants of Armour & Co., Morris & Co., and Swift & Co. Eight hundred negroes from the South came into the plants as strikebreakers. When the strike ended the negroes remained at work and an equivalent number of white men failed to get their jobs back. Since then there has been a stream of negroes arriving.

Here is the cause in plain sight. Equally plain, and of greater importance, is the inefficient means employed to stop the rioting.

Militiamen, sent down there with instructions not to shoot, were deprived of their weapons by the white rioters.

Governor Lowden's insistence that the riot was well handled does not justify with the thirty-three dead.

In these days riotous assemblage must be stopped with firm hands, not patted with by those palsied with politics

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 8, 1917

NEGRO MEMBERS OF COUNTY BOARD FAIL TO ATTEND

Meeting Abolishes Office Held by Black Physician—Bonds for Roads Vetoed.

Not one of the six negro members of the St. Clair County Board of Supervisors from East St. Louis or Brooklyn, was present at the monthly meeting of the board at Belleville yesterday.

Among those absent was Dr. L. N. Bundy of East St. Louis, alleged leader of the negro mob of Sunday night which shot and killed two detectives. Warrants have been issued for his arrest and he is being sought by the authorities.

By unanimous vote the office of negro county physician in East St. Louis was abolished. This was held by Dr. L. B. Buitt. At the June meeting of the board his salary had been raised from $900 to $1100.

Efforts of several East St. Louis members to defeat the $400,000 bond issue for good roads because of the recent race riot failed. By a vote of 26 to 15 the board voted to sell the entire issue to Elson & Co., Chicago brokers, for $398,000.

Supervisor Drury led the objectors by declaring that inasmuch as the county could be held responsible for $500,000 damage done by the mobs, it would be unwise at this time to spend so large an amount on roads. This view also was taken by Supervisors M. L. Harris, Whitmore, Jimmerson and McAuliffe, all of East St. Louis. Supervisors Niess of Engelmann and Zerwack of Lebanon, favored good roads as an asset to farmers in getting their products to market.

The bonds, which will bear 5 per cent and which will mature in 20 years, will be floated as soon as certificates can be printed.

FRANKFORT KY STATE JOURNAL
JULY 10, 1917

THE WORDS OF A SEER.

Many negroes, according to St. Louis papers, are hurrying back to the south because of the illustration of what may happen when there is friction between whites and blacks north of the Ohio. News of the East St. Louis horror will be read in Georgia and Louisiana cabins and in the negro quarters in every city in the south. Possibly many of the dusky readers will recall the words of their late leader Booker T. Washington, who declared that the south is the best place for the negro because he gets along with the southern white man better than with the northerner and because the south understands him and makes allowances for him. The south, and particularly the rural, and agricultural south, Booker Washington recommended to southern negroes.

Race riots and lynchings have occurred from time to time in the south, but none has been as bad as that which disgraced America in East St. Louis. It is disgraceful that the fear of death by violence should determine the course of a negro looking for work, but there can be no doubt that many a southern negro will, because of the East St. Louis affair, decide to remain permamently in the south.

N Y C TRIBUNE
OCTOBER 13, 1917

Two Whites Found Guilty of Murder In Race Riots

BELLEVILLE, Ill., Oct. 12.—Herbert Wood and Leo Keane were found guilty this afternoon of the murder of Scott Clark, a negro, who died from injuries received in the recent race riots in East St. Louis, and the penalty was fixed at fourteen years' imprisonment. Wood and Keane were the first white men to be tried on charges growing out of the race riot.

The jury was out two hours. Ten negroes were found guilty last Sunday, and each was given an indeterminate sentence of fourteen years.

Witnesses testified that Wood and Keane were arrested as they were dragging Clark along the street by a rope, which had been fastened about his neck. Keane is only seventeen years old.

Monday three more white men will be placed on trial on charges growing out of the riot.

Assistant Attorney General Middlekauf of Illinois had asked the death penalty for Wood and a long prison sentence for Keane.

The number of known dead in the race riots at East St. Louis on July 2 is forty-seven. The outbreak was due to the killing of a detective and wounding of two policemen in an attempt to disperse a mob of negroes. The grand jury reported that in reality the riots were due to agitators among whites and negroes over importation of the latter from Southern states for industrial purposes.

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS
JULY 16, 1917

PLACING THE BLAME.

A. P. Daniels is wrong in his conclusion that the East St. Louis race riots just happened to take place in a "wet" city and that the saloons had little or nothing to do with them

It is quite generally admitted that lawlessness and disrespect for law due to corrupt politics were the chief underlying causes. The saloons of East St. Louis, as in other "wet" territory, were mainly responsible for the existing lawlessness. Liquor politicians demanded immunity for themselves.

Furthermore, the saloons and other vicious establishments supported by them politically furnished the breeding places for crime and anarchy.

Finally, liquor was responsible for the acts which set loose the mob. A company of "joy riders" fired the first shots. Thus liquor furnished the conditions which resulted in the accumulation of human rubbish, and then liquor lit the match. Senator Sherman placed the blame where most of it belongs—upon lawless saloons in the worst saloon town in the state. O. G. CHRISTGAU.

Glen Ellyn, Ill.

Describes Riots in East St. Louis as "Reign of Anarchy"

N Y C HERALD
OCTOBER 21, 1917

Newspaper Reporter Tells Congress Committee There Was "Collapse of City Government."

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Saturday.—Paul Y. Anderson, a St. Louis newspaper reporter, testifying to-day at the Congressional riot inquiry, said there was a complete collapse of the city government during tthe riots. He was the only witness heard to-day.

He said he saw ten or twelve negroes killed during the riots, and that there was no attempt on the part of either the soldiers or the police to restore law and order. Mr. Anderson termed the riot period a "reign of anarchy" and told the committee that those who wanted to beat or kill negroes during the day did so without interference.

Representative Baker questioned the witness regarding pictures taken during the riots, and Mr. Anderson told of the efforts of the police to prevent St. Louis newspaper photographers and motion picture men from obtaining pictures. One photographer was arrested and his camera taken away from him.

Members of the committee expressed surprise at the conditions which existed after Mr. Anderson had described the Coroner's secret inquest and efforts made by the city administration to suppress the facts.

"Never before have I heard of a city that kept inquests into the deaths of murdered people closed to the public," said Mr. Raker.

"The government cannot exist when the press is barred from public hearings," said Representative Cooper.

LARGE SECTION IS UNDER GUARD

DUBLIN GA HERALD
JULY 19, 1917

Night of Terror Spent by White People in East St. Louis Last Night.

East St. Louis, Ill., July 19.—A large section of East St. Louis is to-day under special police and militia guard, following a night of terror during which negro snipers were firing shots into the lighted windows of white people.

Several residences were attacked in this manner.

CHICAGO ILL. TRIBUNE
JULY 10, 1917

THE BEAM IN OUR OWN EYE.

Chicago, July 9.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—I read with interest and approval your editorial regarding the East St. Louis riot. I also was profoundly impressed by your cartoon, "An Awkward Interruption."

The president proposes to set Europe in order and establish humanitarianism and democracy there. And this incongruity between what America is doing at home and what she proposes abroad has been noticed by European thinkers.

And I believe that President Wilson's "part in this great struggle for human liberty" will be somewhat crippled and handicapped when Europe discovers that America contemplates sending out colored soldiers to help America establish in Europe what America has not yet been able to establish at home—a humanitarian democracy, which overlooks race, color, caste, and creed, and says: "A man's a man for a' that."

WILLIAM H. FERRIS,
3339 Vernon avenue.

N Y C SUN
OCTOBER 14, 1917

Another Task for Illinois Men.

Two white men have been found guilty of murdering a negro in the East St. Louis riots on July 2. They have been sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment, the same punishment ordered for ten negroes who were previously convicted. Three more white men are to be put on trial this week on charges growing out of the riots; it is plain that Illinois justice does not draw the color line, and that the guilty of both races are to receive equal penalties.

This reasonably prompt and reasonably severe treatment of the rioters is gratifying in that it reveals Illinois determined and capable in the pursuit of fomenters and practitioners of violence. But the real cause of the East St. Louis outbreak will not be reached by the sternest proceedings in the criminal courts. The disorders that cost forty-seven lives last summer resulted from inefficient and incompetent if not corrupt city administration in the town in which they occurred. The cure for that does not lie in the courts, but in the of the citizens.

We congratulate the State of Illinois on the punishment of law defying men who turned one of that State's cities into a shambles; and we hope to be able to congratulate the unfortunate city on having removed, by the act of its voters, the conditions that gave opportunity for the violent outbreak weakness and timidity, if not worse, invited.

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

THE REAL CAUSE OF ST. LOUIS RIOT

M. C. Well Ad
38 Park Row

INDIANAPOLIS IND STAR
JULY 14, 1917

Politics, of the Congressional District in which E. St. Louis is Located, Main Factor.

LABOR UNIONISTS MADE THE GOAT FOR AMBITUOUS MEN.

(By R. D. JONAS.)

The East St. Louis Riot and the Cause.

What is the cause and the reason of this ungodly bloodshed?

Millions will ask this question as it is being discussed on the streets today, and being carried into foreign journals. It is the mystery and discussion that causes it to travel; and it is God's plan that it shall travel.

No person has written the real cause. They have touched mighty close to it, but the reader is still in doubt. To understand it, you must understand the surrounding towns that touch East St. Louis.

To begin with, politics was the cause—labor was the goat. St. Louis was dry on Sunday; East St. Louis was wet. Granite City, a border town, has a socialist for mayor. Brooklyn or Lovejoy, another suburb town of 3,000, has a Colored mayor and Colored police officials. The stockyards are in the town of Brooklyn, and up until a year ago the Colored town was receiving all of the tax revenue of the stockyards. Later some white people secured a few squares of ground around the stockyard and called the place National City. By some method they caused a division of taxes of Lovejoy. Keep all this in mind as you go.

With the influx of the South, the liquor question in St. Louis and the doctrine of equal rights, thousands of Colored people made East St. Louis their home. This meant they had a vote. The European war came, and men were scarce.

The men who were hired to do the unpleasant work around the stockyards were on the battle fields of Europe. From the North, East, South and West men of all types gathered to St. Louis and East St. Louis.

This question of such a gathering of people caused some quiet discussion among the white people. Three months before the riot in the Ethical Culture hall, the Sunday Evening Club people of high station gathered and discussed these questions:

What ticket will they vote?

What party can handle them?

Will the Socialistic party of Granite City have any effect upon them as a solution to their oppression in the South?

Will they follow the race ideal doctrine of Lovejoy?

Will they elect a councilman in East St. Louis?

The last question was the one that seemed to trouble all concerned. A Negro is out of place when he attempts to sit in the Hall of Legislation, and they all agreed on that.

Another voice said, "we can not have in East St. Louis and St. Louis what they have in Chicago. We are too near to the line. We must discourage any assemblage of a great number of Colored people."

I say there the seed of the trouble was sown. From that day political parties began to study a method of how to clean house. The influx became greater and greater. The strike of the Aluminum works was strongly fought by capital and labor—Colored labor was used. Intimidation began, but the government taking the output of the aluminum for their flying machines, the pickets were quickly put to flight by the government.

This angry mob of strikers began to hold mass meetings. The politicians of East St. Louis and surrounding towns saw it was a good club. It was a common saying among the whites, "we want no De Priest here in this city. To house clean was on the way; the hireling was found.

The slick politician was quietly warning the strikers that the Colored men would have all their jobs. The real estate men were angered by some of their members selling property to Colored people in the restricted districts.

The better class was approached by the argument that the safety of white women was endangered by the saloon and lawless teaching of socialists in the preaching of mixing the races.

With these tremendous arguments, it was agreed that the Colored man was to be driven out. He had to go. Any person interfering in the plans was driven out. And it was here I began to sound the alarm.

I visited the churches and advised them to keep their eyes open and make a place of safety for their wives and children. But it was ridiculed and passed by without any attention. I went to Mr. Chas. Robison, of the Fraternal Clarion of St. Louis, and told him about a carload of guns being shipped to the unions to clean

He called Dr. Bundy, but he told Mr. Robison that it was alright, that they had good, influential friends who would not permit anything like that to be pulled off, and if it did, it would soon be checked.

I came back and told him that it was reported that the arrival of troops would not interfere with the plan, but again they paid no heed.

Two weeks passed. Two bodies of people visited the mayor—one was Colored; the other was white.

The first committee said they did not want the Southern Negroes coming from the South, as it would interfere with their jobs and homes. The labor leaders, or the second delegation, said they wanted the Colored people and the labor agents to be kept out.

The aluminum workers made the request that they wanted their positions back. Nothing was done until the mass meeting of the labor leaders met to discuss at City Hall the above trouble.

While they were in heated discussion over which one should be driven out, that is the Negro or the labor agent, the report came that a white man was robbed. This was followed in 15 minutes with the report that a white woman was assaulted.

On the arrival of the two prisoners (which it is believed a plot), the 2,000 people who were gathered outside awaiting the decision of the labor discussion began to pick up stones; they marched to the intersecting lines where nearly all the cars change their passengers for St. Louis. They formed a ring and as each car came into the enclosed war ring men, women, boys and girls who were Colored, were made the victims of the hunted rabbit. Stones and clubs from all sides came as he or she made for a way of escape.

I rushed to the telephone to get the sheriff or governor, but was quickly told that line was out of order. I called for the police, when some one in the store said let the phone be, you can not use it.

I went in a Greek restaurant to report that they had two killed and one dying on the curb, but was met with same curt reply.

From 10 p. m. to 1 a. m. this mob, composed of civilians and soldiers, tore Colored people from the cars and mobbed them where they could get their prey.

Next day the officials met me on the streets and ordered me to leave the town. I said I am not doing anything. Yes, but you must get across the bridge. I went across the bridge and found 16 officers searching the Colored people.

White began telling me then the thing was going to be finished. The troops were coming, but they did not have any ammunition. They said it was planned that they have the excuse that they should not fire.

At first I thought the reports were idle words, but later I was convinced it was true.

I took two witnesses to Springfield and spoke at the court house, and invited the legislation to come out and hear me, but every plan I attempted I found discouraged underlying tricks to get the facts out.

The woman, Mrs. Alex Harrison and her husband, went back to East St. Louis, and this is the letter they wrote me, which I received today, July 11th:

"East St. Louis.

"Dear Brother Jones:

"We received your letter and was glad to hear that you are trying to get the outside world interested in us. We are well, but we don't know how long we will live. We went to St. Louis Saturday and came back and found everything all right at home but around us there are dead and dying, and the place looks like a cyclone struck it. The church is all smashed and Dr. Baldwin's place is all a wreck. He had to get out the back way. Bullets mark everything where fire has not touched. From Tenth street down and back is all burnt; Colored grocery store is all gone. I assisted him to look for his wife. We found a burnt skull; he thinks it is her. I went out with another party to look over the dead, but he got afraid and went on the undertaker (white) and I found 12 bodies in a pile. You could not tell whether they were men or women, as they were so badly disfigured; clothing torn off. The undertaker said he had buried 17 yesterday, and that the pictures were not yet struck off, so I came back. The little singer who sang for us was killed, I think.

"The people are all talking about you; if they had only listened. They realize now that you told them the truth. I may leave for Champaign; I dont know where to go.

Husband and I are safe here. God has not permitted this house to be hurt. How wonderful!

"Pray for us.

"Yours in Jesus,

"Mr. and Mrs. Alex Harrison."

The Berlin-St. Louis Race Riots.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING TELEGRAM:—

THE suspicion (or certainty) seems to have arisen that the race riots in East St. Louis originated in Berlin; that they were, in fact, part of a plot contrived by the Prussian autocracy to bring about a race war in the United States in order to compel America to keep its army at home.

It is a fact that for many months the Prussian government has had its secret agents in the southern States, carrying on a propaganda among the negroes, and the race riots are almost certainly due to the activities of these secret agents.

A rigid inquiry will, of course, be made into the causes of the East St. Louis riots, and I may suggest a few subjects for investigation:—

First—Did German agents instigate the negroes in the first instance, to make demonstrations, and did they supply them with arms?

Second—Did German agents by inflammatory speeches instigate the white mobs to acts of violence against the negroes?

Third—And this is most important. May it not be possible that agents of the Kaiser's government themselves commit the greater part of the outrages against the lives, persons and property of the negroes? There must be a number of white men in custody for murde and arson. Let their history be inquire into. If they be not German spies, the may be German sympathizers and in t pay of German spies.

BERTRAND SHADWELL.

Louisville, Ky., July 8, 1917.

N Y C JOURNAL
OCTOBER 5, 1917

Ist St. Louis Negroes Plotted to Kill Whites

Belleville, Ill., Oct. 5.—Pointing out each of the thirteen negro defendants in court, Edward Wilson, negro, swore he saw them armed and organized July 1, the night of the al-

leged attempt to attack and murder the white population of East St. Louis.

Fearing he would be murdered, the State has been holding Wilson in Chicago for two weeks pending the trial, it became known to-day.

Evidence tending to show that St. Louis negroes had agreed to assist the East St. Louis negroes in their fight against the whites, was given by Edward Keshner, vice-president of the Union Bank.

OCTOBER 5 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS AFTERMATH.

Negro Who Sought Vengence Is Himself Killed.

St. Louis, October 4 (by A. P.).—Edward Wilson, a negro, who in the last week attacked five white women in revenge, he said, for the death of relatives killed in the riots in East St. Louis, Ill., July 2, was shot and killed on the street last night by Joseph Cipolli, the escort of a girl he insulted last Sunday night.

Cipolli, with the aid of two friends and the police, laid a trap for the negro, and enticed him into an automobile. He became suspicious when the men drove toward the police station and jumped from the car. Cipolli drew a revolver and shot the negro five times as he ran. He fell dead.

NEW YORK WOMEN'S WEAR
JULY 5, 1917

East St. Louis, Ill.—Race Riots East St. Louis Caused by Importations of Negro Labor. — To the large importation of negro laborers from the South has been traced the serious race riots which have attracted the attention of the country to this city.

Importation of negro workers from the South has been common during the last year in many parts of the country, and conflicts between whites and blacks, on a smaller scale, have taken place since in a number of communities. Recently, it will be recalled, several hundred white employes left their places in strike against the employment of an imported negro. It is the fear of workers and union men that the introduction of negroes into northern industry on a large scale may serve to lower the standards of labor.

Not only in the North has the importation of the negro caused trouble. In the South the business and farmer interests have suffered from what they regard as an incursion on their labor supply, and resentment against the withdrawal of negroes to northern industries is strong.

WHITE MEN FOUND GUILTY IN EAST ST. LOUIS TRIALS

Chicago Defender 10/27/17

By J. M. Batchman,
Staff Correspondent Chicago Defender

Belleville, Ill., Oct. 26.—John Gow and Charles Hanna, on trial in the Belleville circuit court on the charge of murdering William Keyser, a white East St. Louis merchant, killed by a stray bullet, July 2, while the race riots were at their height, and of killing Ed Cook, a Race man, were found guilty by a jury at 7:45 o'clock Sunday night and each sentenced to fifteen years in the penitentiary.

The jury announced that it was unable to reach a verdict in the case of Harry Robinson, who was tried with Gow and Hanna in connection with the death of Keyser. He will be retried, according to an announcement made by Judge Crow.

The three men had testified that they did not take any part in the rioting and each denied having fired any shots the day Keyser was killed.

Testimony for the state, however, had fixed the presence of the three men in the mob operating on Collinsville avenue in East St. Louis so firmly that the defendants admitted they were "near" the scene, and each told how he had been drawn there as a sightseer.

The case closed Saturday night and went to the jury at 9 o'clock.

The three defendants were brought into court just before the verdicts were read. Gow and Hanna took their sentences without much concern and were led back to their cells in the county jail.

It was the third trial held in Belleville following the East St. Louis riots.

In the first cases tried ten members of the Race were found guilty and sentenced to fourteen years in prison.

In the second trial Leo Kane, 17 years old, a messenger employed by the Vandalia railroad, residing at 3736 Cozens avenue, St. Louis, and Herbert F. Wood, an East St. Louis switchman, both white, were convicted of murder and sentenced to the penitentiary for fourteen years.

Seventy-six to Face Trial

There are seventy-six cases to be heard, and at progress marking the three tried it will take more than a year to clean the docket.

MORE TO COME

Alibi's of Whites Disproved

Harry Robinson's alibi, in his trial with John Dow and Charles Hanna on the charge of murder in the East St. Louis race riot of July 2, was attacked by the prosecution by comparing it with the record of Robinson's testimony at the coroner's inquest.

The inquest testimony is not an official record, as the testimony was not taken verbatim by the stenographer, but was summarized. If Robinson had not taken the witness stand himself, the summarized record of his statement to the coroner could not have been placed before the jury.

His employer, Ben Cruvant, and Mrs. Cruvant, testified that Robinson was working in Cruvant's shoe shop until noon July 2. This covered the time between 10 and 11 a. m., in which, according to the State's testimony, Robinson was holding up a pawnbroker and looting his shop of revolvers.

Robinson was asked, on cross-examination, if he had not said at the inquest that he was in front of the pawnshop when it was entered and that he saw the mob's acts in the street during the morning. He made a general denial of his answers as summarized in the coroner's record.

Dow Supports Own Alibi

Dow, an ice wagon driver, testifying in his own behalf, tried to supplement testimony given yesterday afternoon by witnesses in his behalf as to his whereabouts at the time of the killing of William Keysey, white hardware merchant, on Collinsville avenue about 1 p. m. Dow's witnesses did not cover the time between noon and 1:30 and Dow testified that, in that time, he ate his lunch and went back to his place of employment. He said he saw some of the morning rioting, but took no part in it.

Hanna, who was driver of a tire service automobile, testified in his own behalf. He said he was changing a patrol wagon tire at the police station between 1 and 1:30 p. m., and that at other times he was driving around the streets on his work. He denied having taken part in acts of lawlessness. His employer testified that he was at work that day, but could not tell of his movements in the middle of the day. A woman who said she was Hanna's mother testified that he was at home at 11:30 a. m., and that he was wearing a light-colored silk shirt, not a blue shirt, as witnesses for the State have said.

J. V. Dant of 406A Collinsville avenue, last direct witness for the defense, said he saw a man fire the shot which killed Keyser. He said the man was neither Hanna nor Robinson, but on cross-examination he said the man resembled Dow.

The defense rested at 1:35 p. m., but this was not the close of testimony, as the State had rebuttal testimony, and the defense might later have the privilege of sur-rebuttal.

Testimony Against Defendants

Keyser was shot as he stood in front of his store, and the State holds that the bullet was the same one which killed Lurizza Beard, a 14-year-old boy of the Race. The State closed its case yesterday afternoon.

A tabulation of the State's case shows the following individual testimony against each of the defendants:

Hanna — Identified by Mrs. Lena Cook as the man who killed Ed Cook, a Race man; identified by John Buckholtz, ambulance driver, as man who refused to let Cook be placed in ambulance, and boasted of having killed ——; identified by Dorothy Ruth as man who refused to let ambulance driver take Cook, and who kicked wounded Race man lying in street; identified by Mrs. Ada Walters as man who pulled Cook from street car and out of pawnshop with revolver in hand; identified by "Doc" Williamson as man who pursued Race men in automobile.

Dow—Identified by Mrs. Cook as man who pulled her 14-year-old son, Lurizza Beard, off street car; this is confirmed by Mrs. Walters, Louis Ward and Max Sonzinsky; identified by Abraham Keyser as being in crowd from which shot was fired which killed William Keyser; and Coroner Renner testifies that Dow said, at Coroner's inquest, that he went into street car "to look on." Mrs. Walters says he boasted, next day, of having killed several members of the Race.

Robinson—Identified by Max Sozinsky, pawnbroker, and his daughter, Fannie, as leader of men who held up Sozinsky and took three dozen revolvers from pawnshop; identified by Abraham Keyser as being in mob from which shot was fired that killed William Keyser.

Mrs. Cook testified that she and her husband and son, with her 13-year-old daughter, were passing through East St. Louis on a through car from Alton, having been on a fishing trip, when a mob surrounded the car. She said Hanna and Dow entered and ordered all the white persons in the car to get out.

Were Dragged From Car

"I told them," she said, "that we all didn't live in East St. Louis, and hadn't hurt anybody there.

"That man (Hanna) took my husband by the collar, and pulled him to the back platform, and threw him off and shot him. I saw that.

"That man (Dow) took my boy and started to drag him out. I took hold of him. 'You've gilled my husband,' I said. 'Don't kill my boy.' He jerked him away, and that was the last time I saw my son alive.

"In an ambulance, awhile later, they laid me on the bodies of three dead men, and when I wiped the blood out of my eyes, I saw that two of the men were my husband and my son."

Bondsmen Uneasy

Since the conviction of the first two white defendants, Herbert Wood and Leo Keane, in last week's trial, it has been reported that some of the white defendants in the riot prosecutions were leaving East St. Louis. A number of bondsmen are said to have become very nervous. Under Illinois law, a bond is a lien on the bondsman's property. Most of the bonds of white defendants in the riot cases are for $2000 to $3000.

Henry Fletcher, charged with conspiracy and rioting, was surrendered at the jail yesterday afternoon by his bondsmen, John Eckert and Anton Balz, who thus relieved themselves of a $3000 bond.

East St. Louis.

The action of the grand jury sitting at Belleville, Ill., in the matter of the East St. Louis riots is most praiseworthy. Indictments have been returned against one hundred and five persons, two of them of prominence, and one a public official.

This appears in the jury's presentation

WASHINGTON D C
AUGUST 15, 1917

"We believe riots, at least the occurrences which led up to them, were deliberately plotted. Indolent public officials heard the rumblings, but overawed by cowardly inclination remained inactive. We have found it obligatory to indict a high police official. An attorney at law, accused of making an inflammatory speech advocating mob violence, has been summoned by an indictment to answer the charge."

No feature of the jury's action is more interesting or important than that relating to the man who in a public speech advocated mob violence, and thus helped to produce the frenzy which broke out so hideously over the town. Evidently there is proof of his utterances; and what the trial jury will assess as his share of responsibility for what followed will be noted with care.

The man in a crowd who first cries "Lynch him!" often acts as the match for setting off the magazine. He causes the explosion. But for him the excitement might be manageable. Violence might not take place. It is that cry operating upon the nerves, all a-tingle, of hundreds of persons of all ages and both sexes which causes the law to be thrown to the winds and brutality installed in its place.

Mentioned in connection with this Illinois tragedy are the race question, the economic question, the political question and the drink question. The victims, in the main, were persons of color. They had recently arrived in response to a labor demand and offers of good wages. Politicians, it is charged had been manipulating the colored vote of the community, and barrooms had been rendezvous for the lawlessly inclined of both races.

Back of all this, however, is the fact that, for one reason or another and for many reasons, lawlessness all over the country has for years practically been coddled and encouraged. In the strain and stress of development and prosperity the execution of the laws has grown lax. While men of substance have been looking the other way, reckless men seeking substance have been improving opportunities thus provided for those of their class.

The result is to be read in the news dispatches. Almost daily, accounts are printed of mobs here, threats of mobs there, and great uneasiness yonder. At this time in particular, with the country at war, the civil authorities should be most vigilant, and promptly and adequately punish all who take the law into their own hands.

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

Town a Living Hell for Three Days; Men Shot Like Rabbits; Mayor, Police and Militia in Sympathy With Mob

Defender 7/14/17

BY J. M. BATCHMAN

Staff Correspondent of the Chicago Defender

St. Louis, Mo., July 13.—Hell itself could never have planned a more damnable outrage against human beings than that which was perpetrated last week against poor defenseless, peace-loving members of the Race in the little filth sink hole on the east side which is known as East St. Louis. Without any provocation whatever, human beings, with a desire to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brows, were shot down in cold blood, their eyes gouged out, burned in their homes like rats in a trap, and subjected to indignities by the lowest scum of the earth, simply because the objects of this hatred wore dark skins. Little babies were torn from their mothers' breasts and murdered or burned to death; prostitutes from the red light district, one of the vilest in the entire United States, outraged decent church-going Race women who were their superiors in every essential, tore the clothes from their backs, beat them, and all this without fear of molestation from the police or state militia.

During the riot in May, the militia disgraced the uniforms they wore by their failure to do their duty, and used the authority vested in them by the state to subject innocent Race girls to hands thrust under their clothes, supposedly in search of ammunition; white women and girls went about unmolested. This occurred to many of those who crossed the bridge entering East St. Louis. During the riot last week the militia under Col. Clayton, whom none of the people think much of, not only hobnobbed with the rioters, but gave up their guns to them in many instances and actually took part in assisting in firing homes and shooting down people whom they were supposed to protect from lawless whites. These statements not only come to me from the people who lived in the "outlaw" town, but have appeared in substance in every white daily in this city, and have never been contradicted because they are true. Col. Clayton has not, by environment, the tendency to curb a mob riot against a darker race. If my information is correct, he lives at Vandalia, Ill., a town which does not allow a Negro to live in its corporate limits. It is also true that the major part of the militia which arrived on the scene first came from the part of the state called Egypt, where prejudice is the most intense against the Race. The best results could not be expected from such a combination.

Brewing for Some Time

Previous to the first riot and since, the poor whites have beaten men and kicked them about on every occasion when it suited their pleasure. The unrest incident to the increase of the Race population and the fact all who have wanted work got it, has been growing, and the people have felt for weeks that the riot fever has not run out of East St. Louis, and it will not be killed until the entire police force has been discharged and Mayor Mollman and all his flunkies have been relegated to the scrap heap. I talked to one of the big employers of labor, also to one of the leading members of the Race of the city, and both told me that Mollman was not right on the "Negro question" and said if he was half a man no such a thing could have occurred. There are rumors current that he will be asked to resign, and it would be a godsend to the town if he would, for he is a useless ornament in the city hall and about as inefficient a public official as has political aspirations.

Some Things Which Happened

When photographers from the St. Louis papers appeared on the scene Monday afternoon (the rioting started n broad daylight), Maurice Ahearn, white, secretary to Mayor Mollman and also secretary of the board of fire and police commissioners, interfered and told them he did not want any pictures of the riot made. He ordered one photographer to leave the city. This incident shows pretty well how the mayor's heart lay in the mater. A man who was an eye witness to much of the proceedings, shows how the thing was framed up as a cut and dried affair. He arrived in East St. Louis about 2 p. m. and went to the police station. A policeman entered and remarked, "Well, it's about time those guys got started." He was instructed to go over to the district, but to come back directly.

Frank Barrett, white, a printer from Chicago, said he saw three low white women attack an aged woman. They threw her to the street, tore her clothes from her and beat her with a beer faucet. He saw white women, whom he claimed were of the tough element, mingling with the mob assisting in torturing blacks of their sex. This witness also saw a militiaman shoot and kill a man instantly. He could ascertain no cause for it and the conclusion is the crime was committed because he was black. He and others testify to the fact that in those sections where they burned the people's homes, as fast as they were seen in the glare of the light they were shot down. He says:

"I saw, two doors from my residence, some of the furniture which had been in a house during the riot when five shots were fired through it; one of the bullets, which was from a 32 caliber automatic, imbedded itself in the back of a rocking chair. The gentleman who lived in the house was shot through the right arm and is now in this city."

That part of the mob which went through the "valley," burned everything in that district as far as the Free Bridge, and in their murderous acts spared neither women nor children. I talked to one young man who was concealed in a bakery all during the first day of this riot by his employer, and he said he saw them murdering his people; with this mob were women, several small boys, and three or four militiamen, who were helping them. He does not lay the blame any more on the militia than on the other officials; they all looked upon the Race of East St. Louis as fit subjects for plundering and murder and took advantage of their superior numbers and more favorable situation to give vent to their Race hatred.

John Griffin was on his way home from work, and while crossing the L. & N. tracks, in company with his son, bullets began to fly like hail and he was shot in the arm; the son was given a close call and only his coat was scorched.

I have been told by men who were in the riot that they saw soldiers assisting in setting fire to homes and firing on occupants as they fled. Some of these men are known to me and some are strangers, but most they have given me has been corroborated by previous published reports.

One witness told me that Monday night soldiers set fire to people's homes and forced the occupants back into the flaming structures at the points of their bayonets to be burned to death. His report of such brutality was the only one of this particular brand of crime, but there were so many similar incidents related that I could not look lightly on his story. About 3 o'clock that afternoon on the tip of a policeman, a mob of about thirty-five men swooped down on a pawnshop owned by a white man named Ellman and seized, not only all the weapons and ammunition in stock, but looted the cases of all the jewelry and watches they could lay hands on. The eyewitness who reported this incident, which occurred within one block of the police station, said he later on saw a policeman voluntarily hand over his revolver to one of the rioters. This incident was repeated on several occasions. One party claims to have counted fifteen bodies of slain Race people in one street.

When the homes in the Race section were burning Monday night, the smoke from the fire could be seen on the St. Louis side of the river as far west as Taylor avenue, which is easily four miles from the scene of the trouble. During this fire about 100 homes were burned in addition to the Broadway theater, the Bon-Ton Baking Company's plant, the Southern Railroad freighthouse and about fifty box cars belonging to the Southern Railroad; these cars were loaded with war munitions for the United States government. During the burning of this district the same scenes were enacted over and over. People driven out by the flames were shot down at their doors until the dead lay in veritable swaths in the street, and the fire wagons dashing by ran over them without pausing. One of the St. Louis fire companies which was sent over to help fight the flames was not permitted to assist in quenching the fire, the hose was cut, and Chief Henderson, for fear of the lives of his men, ordered them home. Appeals to the police and militia for protection fell on deaf ears, and even today men do not feel safe on the streets of the city because they have no confidence in the majesty of the law in this particular spot in the great state of Illinois. I was talking to a man as late as Sunday night, who had gone to East St. Louis on business, and he said regardless of the assurances given for the safety of Race people, there was no protection to be had which he could trust, and he came back to St. Louis.

Bullets Halt Mob

During the fire many homes of white people were destroyed. These were close to Race neighborhoods. The district running along Third street was also burned to the ground, but out in Denver Side, where the men had guns and plenty of ammunition, the mob did not seem to have the heart to go. They contented themselves to doing their murderous work early in the afternoon when most of the men were employed, and sniping at those stragglers whom they could surprise on their way home. Insofar as could possibly be done, the militia took guns and ammunition away from the Race people, and thus they were made easy prey for the rioters. One man said if they had let the members of the Race and rioters alone there would not have been a riot long, and the state would not have had as great a disgrace, as has come on it in dallying with half-hearted and impotent officials.

It is reported that the proprietor of the Commercial Hotel, a disreputable hostlery at Third street and Missouri avenue, secured a large number of guns and considerable ammunition previous to the riot and gave them to white men. Ben Cox, who had a rooming house at 215 East Broadway, said that there was practically no protection in the city as late as Friday afternoon, when he was over there looking after his furniture. One St. Louis man, who could pass for white anywhere, spent the entire afternoon Monday in the riot hell-hole, mingled with the mob, and said they were shooting men down like hunting rabbits. He was so aroused by the sights he saw that he came near to getting into serious trouble for kicking a white man in the face when he attempted to drag a man from a street car.

Some Whites Scared

Many white persons who lived near the Race section of the city feared for their lives in retaliation for what had been done to the these law-abiding people and went to the homes of relatives and friends in other parts of the city. Some went to Belleville. Among those who went into what he considered the danger zone was Frank J. Hilton, a member of the legislature. He brought an aged white couple out who lived near St. Henry's church.

A Mr. Matthews was at a hospital and saw EIGHT WHITE MEN brought in whom he said had no possible chance to recover. He was struck in the side of his head and injured. One Race officer said he visited the morgue after the serious part of the riot was over and counted THIRTY-EIGHT DEAD WHITE PEOPLE who had been slain in the riot. Another man said he saw SIXTEEN in a hospital where they took him, and I heard a story of one Race man killing three white men before he was shot down. The officer who reported so many dead at the morgue said when he went into the Race section there were so many dead he got sick and left. The white papers have at no time published more than four white men who were slain, but the Race people of responsibility and intelligence assert with firmness that the loss of life among the white people was severe. There is no doubt but that the price exacted from the mob in loss of life will have a salutary effect on the laxness of public officials on the east side, which has been notorious. The Race men were prepared for this riot, and the only reason they were worsted to any considerable extent was due to the fact the riot was precipitated before they reached their homes. However, had the police, the mayor and militia done their full duty the riot could have been stopped before any damage to amount to anything could have been done.

The city was considered under control late Tuesday, but people have not had the confidence in the firmness of the officials to return to their homes. Plants have been crippled, installment houses report the loss of $7,000 worth of furniture and the railroads have suffered for a lack of men to handle freight, etc. Even at the R. R. Y. M. C. A. militiamen had to be drafted to do the cooking. It must be said to the credit of the packing plants and the Aluminum Ore company whose work union labor leaders covet, that they protected their employes at all stages of the trouble. Some of these concerns brought Colored workers across the river to this city at night and took them back next morning to their work.

What St. Louis Did

The white people of this city, through the public officials, have done everything in their power to assist some 5,000 refugees who came from the strike-ridden district. The ladies of the Red Cross society labored night and day caring for all who reached the Municipal Lodging house, where the people were packed in as long as there was room. They were fed, employment found for them on this side, and the word was passed along that St. Louis could use every Colored man who wanted to stay here. A branch of the Municipal Lodging house was opened at 2216 Market street and seats installed for their comfort; the Booker

Washington theater, Charles Turpin manager, was kept open for any who desired accommodations and the churches held their doors open until it was seen that all could be accommodated. The papers here were generous and impartial to a striking degree and could find no language too severe for the condemnation of the mob in their editorial columns and have kept at it for a week. The Race people of St. Louis are proud of their white neighbors, and well they should be. St. Louis is ever generous to the needy and oppresesd. The N. A. A. C. P. did yeoman work and Race people of prominence assisted in every way possible. Many homes were thrown open and there was every effort made to render Christian service. Families were united and hearts filled with happienss. Mrs. Malone flitted here and there, ministering to the wants of the needy, and was seen in the midst of things with her assistants at the Union station where many sought refuge. It is understood she secured a list of names of those who had lost friends and had other grounds against the city for legal prosecution.

Attempt to Frame Up on Bundy

Since the outbreak there has evidently been an attempt made from some source to frame up some sort of a charge against Dr. L. N. Bundy, who had offices at 17 Collinsville avenue. Dr. Bundy is one of the most prosperous Race leaders on the east side; a young man, he is fired with pride in his people and upholds their rights in every manner possible for peaceful, law abiding citizens. There could be no more damnable outrage perpetrated on the people of the state than attempts made to frame up charges and secure convictions against prominent Race men for inciting the riot. I talked to Dr. Bundy after the first riot. I have known him personally for some time, and there was no one who counselled conservatism among the people more than he. Some one has lied on him if reports appearing in the press are true. He had no more to do with inciting the East St. Louis riots than I, and I did did not know it was on until I saw the smoke rising from the burned dwellings. Bundy is no more guilty than the committee sent to East St. Louis representing the state defense council, which made no finding worth giving to the public, on the first outrage and found nothing to recommend to regulate industrial conditions so the output of war munitions, etc., would not be crippled during the war. Union labor leaders and no one else are to blame for the blood that was shed in East St. Louis and unless the labor leaders over the country find some other solution to the labor situation as it affects them, than attempts to drive Colored workers out of large industrial centers like East St. Louis, which are capable of giving work to all who want it, union labor will go down in ruin before it is much older, and all men will be admitted to employment on an equal basis.

Present Happenings

Chas. N. Smith, white, a hardware dealer of Madison, Ill., was arrested on a charge of inciting riot. He is said to have secured 1,550 rounds of ammunition. C. C. Buner, 67 years old, 2701 Tudor avenue, was arrested charged with arson. Lawyer N. W. Parden and City Detective James Hardiman were arrested. Dr. Bundy has been sought, but the only reason apparent is his known prominence as a leader. There is not a more law abiding citizen on the east side; he is simply a marked man. One of the dirty pieces of work, which has the riot as a pivot, was the action taken by the St. Clair county board of supervisors at their monthly meeting last Saturday. Five of the members were members of the Race, but they were absent. They voted to abolish the office of second assistant county physician for East St. Louis, a $1,000 a year job. Dr. Bluitt of East St. Louis held the position. The white people have charged the mob with being made up of the scum, and some of the Race people say the same thing but this mob spirit came from **representative citizens** of St. Clair county, and is no doubt but an indication of thousands of others who would class themselves with the more reputable element and as belonging to the better class. The silence of these people, who claim horror at what occurred, was passive support for the murder of every Negro, and is finding its results in the attempt to thwart justice and make the investigation into the riot by the grand jury a farce and further disgrace to the community. Chief of Police Payne and Chief of Detectives Stocker of East St. Louis have used their influence to stifle the inquiry thus far; newspaper reporters have been **barred** from the coroner's inquest affecting thirty-one bodies of the massacre, and they are not backward in their efforts.

Every official in the devil ridden town is passing the "buck" to the next one. The people blame the police, and the police blame the militia, and the soldiers say they did not have ammunition or orders to fire. The circle is about complete. The East St. Louis riot investigation will not result in a restoration of order and a reign of law in that city, is my guess. I have known the town for fifteen years and have always considered it a wide open place, and from Monday's outbreak and the days following, I look upon the place as deserving a black eye among progressive and self respecting municipalities. If it is from East St. Louis, it is rotten and to be shunned or be contaminated by its influence. The **loss of life in the riot will never be known.**

RACIAL, NOT GEOGRAPHIC, SAYS HENRY WATTERSON

NEGRO QUESTION BY NO MEANS SETTLED, DESPITE SACRIFICES.

Murderous Outbreaks Cause for Shame and Sorrow—Danger Added to Sense of Humiliation.

HENRY WATTERSON,
in "Louisville Courier-Journal."

That at any time, but especially upon the eve of our blessed Fourth of July, consecrated to human liberty and popular justice, there should be murderous outbreaks among the people anywhere were cause for shame and sorrow. But the East St. Louis outbreak speaks in yet louder tones. That the trouble there should be drawn upon the color line adds to the sense of humiliation the menace of danger. It tells us that for all our sacrifices we have by no means settled the negro question.

East St. Louis is not in Missouri. It is in Illinois. Nor highbrow of Boston nor low brow of Oberlin can derive sectional satisfaction or make political capital hurtful to the South out of the riotous proceedings there. Like similar collisions in other Northern communities, they clearly show that the issue, where issue arises, between the whites and the blacks anywhere in the United States, is racial, not geographic.

The Southern people, indeed, have always claimed that they are the negro's best friend. This is true to the extent that they know him best. They are his familiars; they recognize his affectionate quality in the every-day relations of life and labor; his intellectual limitations; his ready response to individual kindness and to personal companionship; often his childlike simplicity saving him from a return to barbarism by keeping him locally dependent. A good and useful citizen under the domestic spell, he becomes again a savage when let to run at large; that is, more of a savage than a white man; maybe his African origin; maybe that he is a more recent outgrowth from a state of nature, because, God forgive us, we are all barbarous enough, and have little of reason and self-control to boast of when the blood is up, more's the pity! In a word, the blacks in America are yet hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Booker Washington saw this clearly and laid foundation for the one future that may insure the negro's prosperity and happiness. The Northern theorizer, knowing nothing at first hand, has never been able quite to understand this. In the old days he violently rejected it. Even in these days he will not believe it. Occasionally an Ethiopian with a strong admixture of the Caucasian, like Frederick Douglass, or Alexandre Dumas, has come upon the scene apparently to contradict the doctrine of inferiority. But the contradiction was only seeming—the rule otherwise altogether overwhelming and conclusive. Even in the field of physics, where the negro, albeit a fighter, is brought in conflict with the white man, it is the negro who gets the hot end of it, as in this pitiable, beastly, bloodthirsty business at East St. Louis.

One of the saddest features of such dire events is that little of a remedial kind can be done and that they are so soon forgotten. It seems of the nature of man to learn nothing of experience. In Kentucky the relations between the whites and blacks were never virulent. In "Uncle Tom's Cabin" Mrs. Stowe marked the modified character of slavery in Kentucky. During the period of reconstruction after the War of Sections the *Courier-Journal* successfully led a logical and humane movement to remove the old Black Laws from the statute books of the Commonwealth and to invest the negro with his new-made rights, declaring the three war amendments to the Constitution of the United States the treaty of peace between the North and the South. Its editor has often said, and the sentiment has found general acceptance among the people, that he wanted nothing for himself and his children that he was not ready freely to concede the black man and his children. On that base of equality before the law, irradiated by reciprocal good will among the living and with both endeared by memories of the dead, the two races in Kentucky have for fifty years lived on terms of mutual friendship and confidence—it might be said mutual interdependence—so that nowhere in the State would public sentiment brook outrage to the black man, or fail *in extremis* to come to his rescue.

This cannot be truly said of any Northern community. Sympathy for the negro at the North is spectacular and speculative. It is sentimentality at long range which looks well in print and costs nothing. The starving darky who went from house to house in a Northern city to be politely, but firmly, turned away, knew the distinction when in reply to his call for food the irate old man of the premises who had come to the door cried out: "You black rascal—how dare you ring the front door bell—go round to the kitchen and the cook will give you all you want," to which came the ready, rejoiceful answer: "Bress de Lawd, I done found a Southern genman at last."

PACO TEXAS TIMES HE[illegible]
JULY 4 1917

The race riot in East St. Louis and the cruel, brutal murder of innocent and law-abiding negroes there, women as well as men, is another shameful episode that makes white men and women sorrow that their kind can do such things. It is the more shameful that white women are said to have been participants. These occurrences make us realize that the effective remedy for lynch law is to make it a Federal offense, punishable by United States authority and power. That will hasten the end of the mob, the country over, when it is the United States courts that the mob has to encounter.

PHILADELPHIA PA PRESS
JULY 8, 1917

MAKE MURDER ODIOUS.

It is a pity that a great public meeting called to greet the envoys of the Russian Republic and show some of the joy of Americans over the newborn freedom of the Russian people should for a time be diverted from that purpose by a somewhat unseemly wrangle over a purely American issue.

Our desire to glorify and promote the struggles for freedom abroad were, before emancipation, dampened and chilled by the ever-present shame of our own domestic slavery. The slight value attached to human life in this country and the insecurity of that life, particularly when the body to which it is given is black, disqualifies us in some degree from presenting our type of government as a model for people struggling for their inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Colonel Roosevelt was impressed by this incongruity at the Russian meeting in New York, and before he could speak of justice for others he was moved to denounce the injustice done to a race in this country in the recent outbreak of savagery at East St. Louis.

Mr. Gompers attempted a feeble apology for this atrocity by speaking of the displacement of labor by Southern migration, but Colonel Roosevelt would listen to no apology for murder. We do not know what the representatives of Russian democracy thought of this very warm and almost violent exchange of views between an ex-President of the United States and the president of the American Federation of Labor, but we rejoice that there is one American ready to denounce such an outrage as that in East St. Louis, whatever the occasion, and to refuse to accept from anybody at any time an apology for murder.

We are far too passive and supine over the murder of negroes, whether by lynching mobs or in labor riots. It is well that there is at least one big public man who grows angry about it and will not hesitate to denounce it in any presence in the strongest language that his vigorous vocabulary can furnish. The country needs to be waked up on that score, so that murder shall be made odious in this country as it is in other civilized lands.

Here is missionary work for Colonel Roosevelt and a great field for his untiring zeal if he will see fit to direct his energies to the great task of awakening the American public to its duty to put an end to lawless and unpunished murder in the United States.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

SAN FRANCISCO CALL EXAMINER
AUGUST 12, 1917

The Status of Our Negroes

By William Baird Reed

AMERICA is to-day passing through an unprecedented period of action inaugurated by the exigencies of war and excited to riotous extremes by the intoxication of deeds. Issues that for years were never carried farther than the debating platform are now being decided with dizzy rapidity. Thoughts and prejudices that have been handed down from father to son to smoulder ineffectually as a permanent stock of class or sectional tradition are now being fanned into flame by this new-born exhilaration of action.

As Americans to-day, whether we be white or black, we are confronted with facts which to ignore is to shirk our duties as citizens. Since the time of Lincoln much talk has passed in regard to the status of the negro in our society, but no decisive action has been taken. The events of the last few weeks in East St. Louis, in Chester, Pennsylvania, and in other sections of the country are a warning to the wise that unless we recognize, understand and solve this great racial problem we will be forced to accept a solution dictated by the tyrannical trend of events.

In a way the solution must be made by the negro himself, for, as the late Booker T. Washington said so effectively, "There are some things that one individual can do for another, and there are some things that one race can do for another. But, on the whole, every race must work out its own salvation."

But from the broader viewpoint, the more altruistic viewpoint that is the heritage of democratic peoples, every citizen must share in deciding matters that effect his body politic. Since riots and disorders have been connected with the negro, whatever their cause and to whatever source may be imputed their origin, it becomes our bounden duty without malice and without prejudice to understand from all angles this problem that confronts us.

The races of mankind are threefold—the Caucasian or white race, the Mongolian or yellow race, and the Ethiopian or black race. America was discovered and settled by the Caucasians, and Caucasians have made up the majority of her population. The Mongolians and the Ethiopians of America have formed the basis for most of our so-called racial problems.

The Caucasians have gravitated to this country in their search for freedom and have proved homogeneous with American civilization. The Ethiopians or negroes were forced into this country by an illicit trade which deprived them of their freedom, a trade that was proved illicit by the Civil War.

Freedom being the conception upon which American society is based, the original import of slaves may be considered the first transgression of the American ideal, the origin of the prolonged and often fruitless attempt to adjust an Ethiopian race in a society made up mostly of Caucasians.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, giving the negro his freedom, and the Fifteenth Amendment, that gave him suffrage, were the first attempts to bring about this adjustment.

There was no greater friend of the negro than Abraham Lincoln. In regard to his place in our society Lincoln said: "There is a physical difference between the white and black races which, I believe, will forever forbid them living together on terms of social and political equality." He expressed himself at another time even more forcibly in these cogent words: "I am not nor never have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races. I am not in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office."

If we are to take these words as coming from the greatest friend of the negroes that ever lived, we will be obliged with the thinkers from the South to cry down the Fifteenth Amendment as unwise and unjust. But Lincoln himself was a Southerner, speaking and thinking in a different generation from that in which we now live.

Since the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment more than $250,000,000 have been contributed through tax money of the South, philanthropy of the North and appropriation of the Government to educate and elevate the negro. A recent Government report compiled by Dr. W. H. Wilcox, a former professor of Cornell University, discloses "that the negro is three times as criminal as the white man, and one and one-half times as criminal as the foreign whites. This report also states that the negro is to-day one-third more criminal than he was in the days of servitude."

Since building Lincoln University, the first school exclusively for the negroes, constructed immediately after the Civil War, Pennsylvania has perhaps done more than any other commonwealth for the mental and moral uplift of the negro. Yet in this State, while he represents but two and one-half per cent of the population, he furnishes seventeen per cent of the male and thirty per cent of the female criminals.

These facts are not set forth in a spirit of malice, nor are they given with a purpose of exciting prejudice. They are stated as much for the benefit of the educated negroes in solving their problem as for the instruction of the American citizens who are in duty bound to assist in this solution.

In commenting upon the recent outbreak in East St. Louis, Fred R. Moore, editor of the New York Age, the most influential negro paper in the country, states in reference to the members of his race: "They are tired of being persecuted, of being made to ride in this kind of a car; of being herded as a class without regard to their individual attainments; of not being able to go to the libaries, to sit in the parks; of constantly fearing that in some way they will do something to infuriate the lower class of whites and result in being lynched. They are just tired of it all."

The Savannah "Morning News" concluded editorially that "there is no escape from the conclusion that the obligation to understand the negro's viewpoint is resting upon the best white people of the South heavily, or that this obligation is of most pressing immediacy."

The Louisville "Herald" attributes the riot to "the fanaticism of the white man who saw his job endangered by these citizens who had as good a right to it if they could make good as he had."

The Memphis "Commercial-Appeal" concludes the matter by saying: "If the negro behaves himself his days in the South will not be marred by much trouble."

It is needless to compile more of the opinions that have been aroused by the recent events in East St. Louis and in Chester. They are but arguments pro and con that have been made in the public press since the time of Lincoln, and they will continue to be made for centuries to come unless Americans, both black and white, are made to realize that the problem demands an immediate solution requiring the concentrated effort of every citizen.

ST LOUIS MO TIMES
NOVEMBER 20, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS NEEDS A MOSES.

The resolution under which the Congressional Committee conducted its investigation into the affairs of East St. Louis directed it to ascertain if there had been any interference with interstate traffic because of lawless conditions incident to the riots of last July. The committee's jurisdiction also extended to the violation of Federal statutes covering other subjects, and, armed with this authority, the committee began its work.

If the committee has left any of the various activities of East St. Louis uninvestigated, or if any phase of life there was untouched by the deep probe it inserted, no one has been able to think what it was. The inquiry was thorough and the results abundant. East St. Louis was turned inside out and held up for the whole nation to regard. The underworld was dragged to the surface and the alliance between vice and the protectors of vice was made plain.

At frequent intervals in the recital of frightful conditions members of the committee interrupted witnesses to express their astonishment that such bold-faced lawlessness and such thinly veneered corruption could exist in an American city. But why should they have been surprised? The riots themselves were sufficient to prove that such symptoms could spring only from a most malignant disease. The riots were not the culmination of a few moments or a few months of ill feeling. They were made possible only by long years of misgovernment and public and private corruption.

Nor has the committee healed the festering sore which it uncovered. It merely has disclosed it and has learned, in a general way, what caused it. Who will apply the healing treatment?

The committee will make its report to Congress. Every one knows how it will picture the city across the river. The findings may show that interstate commerce was interfered with by the rioters and the spirit they engendered. It may be proved that other offenses against the Federal Government were committed, and upon the basis of such a report the Department of Justice may take steps very promptly to punish the offenders. But this would not touch the real problem of East St. Louis. Something else must be done. A clean, fearless, competent city administration is the first requisite, and that is something that the decent people of East St. Louis ought to demand forthwith. Until it is established congressional committees may investigate until they are blue in the face without eliminating the real cause of all the trouble.

Vice can run rampant in a city only when its officials are corrupt or incompetent. In either case the officials should be ousted. The situation in East St. Louis comes within this rule. It is of small moment to the thousands of people there whether a few trains were held up for a few hours. It is a far different matter if the revolting conditions laid before the Congressional Committee are to be allowed to remain in existence.

Isn't there some man in East St. Louis big enough and courageous enough to seize upon this as the psychological moment for cleaning up the city?

SWEAR POLICEMAN
ORDERED THEM TO

FIRE ON NEGROES

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 13, 1917

Several Militiamen Confirm Previous Testimony as to Fatal East St. Louis Attack, July 3.

Further testimony to the effect that shots from a squad of militia which killed two negroes in the rear of a saloon near the waterworks plant in East St. Louis the morning of July 3 were fired upon the order of the two policemen in charge of the squad was given yesterday at the secret inquest into the deaths resulting from the East St. Louis race riots, it was learned by a Post-Dispatch reporter.

A member of the coroner's jury told the reporter that all the seven or eight militiamen in the squad had testified virtually as follows:

That about 8 o'clock on the morning of July 3, after the worst of the race troubles was over, they received instruction to proceed under the command of Police Sergeant Meehan and Patrolman O'Brien to the saloon in question and close it. As they neared the place they saw eight or nine negroes in the rear of the saloon drinking beer and shooting craps.

Freight House Employes.

These negroes were known as employes of the Wabash freight house and were supposed to be working, but as was their custom had taken a few minutes off to get some drinks.

When the negroes saw the soldiers approaching under the command of the policemen, they ran. Then, according to the testimony of all the militiamen, when the negroes had neither fired a shot nor displayed any weapons, one of the policemen ordered the squad to fire upon the negroes. Both policemen joined in the shooting and were among the first to fire, it was testified. The shots killed two negroes and shot a hand off of a negro woman.

None of the militiamen testified that they were fired upon by the negroes. One said he heard a shot which he thought was fired by the negroes. Most of the negroes were subsequently captured and none was found to be armed.

Negro Beaten in Saloon.

In a search of the saloon three revolvers were found. The negro porter was found hiding in the icebox. He was dragged out, the militiamen said, by Patrolman O'Brien, who beat him over the head with his revolver.

Patrolman O'Brien was called to testify at the secret inquest, and according to a juror, who related the testimony of the militiamen, he declared he did not fire a shot, that he did not hear any shots fired, and that he did not see any negroes killed. He testified further that he did not see an ice box in the saloon, where he is alleged to have beaten the negro porter.

It was testified at the inquest early in the week by Col. E. P Clayton, who was in charge of the field operations of the militia at the beginning of the riots, that the reports to him were to the effect that the soldiers fired under orders from the policemen.

"Minute Men" Company Planned.

It was voted, at a meeting of the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred yesterday afternoon, to organize a company of 200 "minute men," who will be commissioned to assemble and cope with any trouble that may arise after the national guards are withdrawn.

The Rev. G. V. Allison, who proposed the plan, said the company could be raised under a recent act of the Legislature providing for a reserve militia. Arthur O'Leary, superintendent of special assessments, is raising a reserve militia company.

Charles Karch, United States District Attorney, said today that he was flooded with requests for a Federal grand jury to investigate the massacre, and that many petitioners asked that Judge Kenesaw M. Landis be put in charge. Karch said more than a hundred business and professional men had made personal appeals for a Federal investigation. He has notified the Department of Justice of the requests.

Senators Sherman and Lewis of Illinois have asked the department to investigate, but there has been no apparent response. It is believed, however, that agents from Washington have been in East St. Louis several days, and that the department is waiting for reports.

Charges Police Were Lax.

George H. Jordan, of 1747 Missouri avenue, told the Citizens' Committee yesterday that he had reported to the police several weeks ago that negroes were assembling guns and ammunition in a certain house, but no action was taken. In revenge, he said a negro chased and threw rocks at his 10-year-old daughter. He said he had the negro arrested, and that he was later released by the police. Two other men reported to the committee that they had been told negroes had stored arms in certain houses.

Citizens and authorized officials who are gathering evidence for prosecutions said they realized that the action of certain city officials in ordering the arrest of newspaper photographers the day of the riot probably blocked the identification of many rioters. Such orders were issued by Maurice Ahearn, secretary to Mayor Mollman, and Police Lieut. Con Hickey.

It is being pointed out now that pictures taken of the mobs at work would have been the best possible means of detecting the guilty ones. Such pictures were taken, but the cameras were destroyed. One policeman took exposed plates from a Post-Dispatch photographer and destroyed them. He said he acted under Hickey's orders.

Orders Against Photographers.

A Major of the national guard said today he heard Ahearn issue orders that no photographs should be taken, and that photographers found making pictures should be arrested.

Hickey told a Post-Dispatch reporter the day after the riot that he issued the order because he didn't want East St. Louis to "get bad advertising."

"SHAME OF ILLINOIS" NATIONAL CALAMITY

CULMINATION OF DECLINING RESPECT FOR NEGRO'S RIGHTS.

Situation Eminently Worthy of Proclamation by the President of the United States, Says Boston Journal.

(Editorial in Boston Journal.)

The most embarrassing, the most alarming of many paradoxical events in America's mobilization for world democracy is the race war in East St. Louis, Ill.

In the midst of fighting for the freedom of all peoples and for the rescue of all victims of autocratic greed and cruelty, America suffers a wanton butchery of her own citizens in one of our prosperous and enlightened communities.

The negroes in East St. Louis were hunted down like rats. They were shot in the streets, they were burned in their homes. The spectacle has not been equalled in modern history outside the blood-soaked hamlets of Armenia.

No atrocities of the war in Europe, even in Belgium, have amounted to a wholesale murder of townspeople. The wildest tales of German fiendishness have painted no such picture as that witnessed in East St. Louis.

Blocks of homes in ashes, charred bodies in the ruins; shots fired at negroes seen trying to escape the flames; bands of armed white men roaming the streets exterminating the refugees—this is the American outburst reaching the ears of a world which has heard us pledge our blood and treasure to make the world safe for democracy.

A negro girl seeking safety from a band of white men is attacked by white women, and when she tries to beg for mercy a white woman smashes her face with a club. An aged negro, tottering with weakness, is seized and hanged to a pole. Three million dollars' worth of property and an unknown number of lives are destroyed by incendiary fires. State guardsmen are disarmed by the mob and police are overpowered.

The Chicago *Tribune*, speaking editorially under the caption, "The Shame of Illinois," declares that the East St. Louis race war is the worst blot on the name of an American community in history. "Illinois must bow her head," says the *Tribune*.

But it isn't only Illinois. This is a national calamity. Old Russia of the Jewish massacres; Turkey of the Armenian butcheries. . . . We bow our heads, indeed.

Nor is a patrol of East St. Louis streets by Illinois guardsmen a sufficient national answer to this horrible massacre. Under the present national Administration, with the old South in control, negroes have fared worse than at any time since the Civil War, that was fought to set them free from slavery. This attack in Illinois cannot be interpreted but as the culmination of a steadily declining respect for the negro's rights—a respect not encouraged by the national Government in recent years.

Shall there be more race warfare? Shall the streets of cities in free America run with the blood of innocent people whose color offends the mob mind? Shall a country promising equality regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude burn American negroes to death in their homes?

The situation is eminently worthy of a proclamation by the President of the United States. Taken in conjunction with sundry other evidences of a waning democracy (including an assault upon citizens of Boston by United States soldiers) it points to a condition which must eventually cause sneers by our enemies and distrust by our friends across the water.

The effect of the experience cannot be easily counteracted. Every effort to nullify that effect and to punish the crime must be made if we are to march into democracy's battles with our heads up.

MEMPHIS, TENN. APPEAL
JULY 8, 1917

THE EAST ST. LOUIS RIOT.

To The Commercial Appeal:

I have just read your splendid editorial in the issue of July 4, under the caption of "The East St. Louis Orgy," and as an humble citizen and patriot, I wish to thank you for the same.

Your article addresses itself to the conscience and better self of our entire citizenry, and should bear much good fruit for many years to come. Sometimes I fear that the better citizens of both races are a little slow and reticent on matters pertaining to our highest common welfare for the good of ourselves and the prosperity of our common country.

When such outbreaks as the East St. Louis riot and the mob in connection with the murder of Ell Person of Memphis take place, all decent people, both white and black, shudder and feel a deep sense of humiliation, if not a remorse of conscience. In the matter of making these occurrences impossible, there should be no dereliction on our part as to our duty. Because of the continued disgraceful crimes perpetrated by the lawless element of her people, our country is made to suffer in her own self-respect and in the eyes of the world.

As a nation we are now engaged in an awful war with the German government. We are fighting that democracy may be safe throughout the world. We believe the world's peace will be safe-guarded and civilization will be advanced when autocracy and bureaucracy are driven from among the nations of the world. The United States of America is pointed out as the fairest and best exponent of democracy— a country whose government is of the people, for the people and by the people. Just at this time, as at no other, we owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the world and to the world's civilization to see to it that our country is a model one for law and order and that justice is guaranteed and meted out to the humblest and least deserving in our midst. The strength and beauty of our government, as of all others, are seen in the protection thrown around the weakest and humblest of its citizens in the enjoyment of their economic and civil rights.

In this day and time when every one should do his best to help his country, I have but little patience and sympathy for criminals, whether they be white or black, and I would not say one word that would give them comfort; but I must confess I do not see any excuse or any reasonable grounds for "mob law" in any section of our country. There are three branches or departments of our government, and each one of them is controlled by white people. They make the laws, they interpret the laws and they execute the law. The negro is amenable to these laws, and he knows that there is no way for him to escape punishment as long as he lives here and violates these laws.

The negro's loyalty to this country can not be questioned. It is true that his ancestors came from Africa, but he is one citizen who is 100 per cent American. Unlike most other people, he has no correspondence and no "special interest" in his father's "native land." All of his interests are here. All that he has is here. No censorship for his mail to Africa or to any other country is necessary. As far as he is concerned, no home guard is needed to protect the bridges, dock yards, public buildings or any other property belonging to the government and the president loses no sleep for fear he will prove a traitor.

The present war should unify the people of all races of this country as nothing else has ever done; but these racial conflicts and industrial upheavals tend to destroy our national solidarity and dampen the negro's patriotism.

In East St. Louis the riot was largely one phase of the industrial war that is raging in this country. The negro as a laborer was sought by large corporations in the north. Agents were sent, transportation was secured and good wages were offered. Like all other people, seeking to better his economic condition, the negro went to East St. Louis. He went there in large numbers. All classes, good and bad, were received. I have heard of none being refused. It was easily seen that, unless there was a strong sentiment for law enforcement established there, unless there was great respect for the majesty of the law in the community, rioting and anarchy would be the natural results of an influx in such a short space of time of so many unskilled laborers.

In connection with this affair the most disheartening and unsavory condition reveals itself when it is reliably reported that some of the state guard sent there to protect life and property joined in the rioting and encouraged, if they did not actually take a part, in the murdering of many innocent negro men, women and children. This is most revolting. Toward this indiscriminate and wholesale murdering of the innocent I have the same revolting feeling engendered by the ruthless slaughter of neutrals on the high seas by the German U-boat warfare which forced our country into the world's most bloody conflict.

It is the patriotic duty of every thoughtful citizen to contribute what he can toward the peace, quietude and success of this country, and most especially at this particular time. Thoughtfulness, patience and forbearance should characterize our every act.

All leaders of thought should join the press in this work of educating the people so that these occurrences will be made impossible in the future. This cannot be attained by spasmodic effort, but by persistent and systematic work during a long period of time. I venture to suggest that a series of articles on the "Majesty of the Law," "Race Adjustment," "Good Citizenship," "A Self-governing People" and the like from the pen of some of the most thoughtful readers of your paper might help in the splendid work that you are doing as editor of The Commercial Appeal.

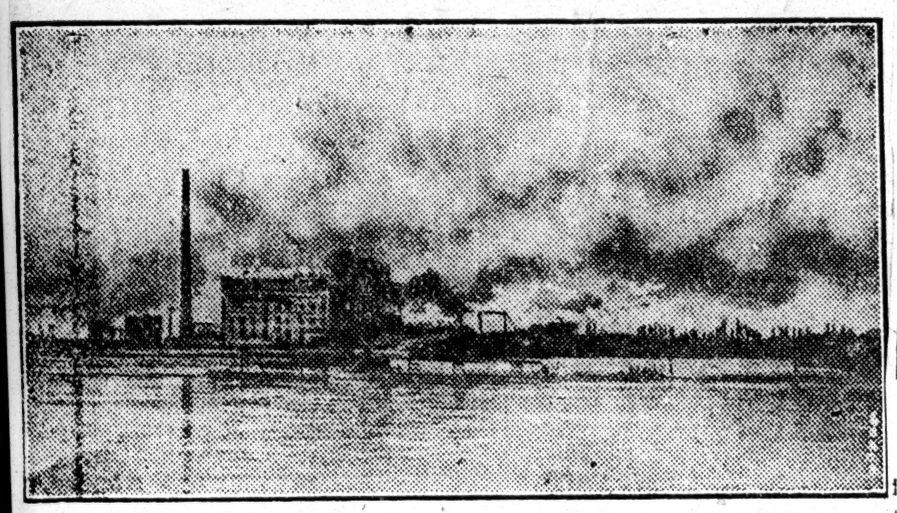
Most respectfully yours,
J. F. LANE.

Jackson, Tenn., July 5, 1917.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

An Impending Race Problem



Flames Started by Rioters in an East St. Louis Negro Section

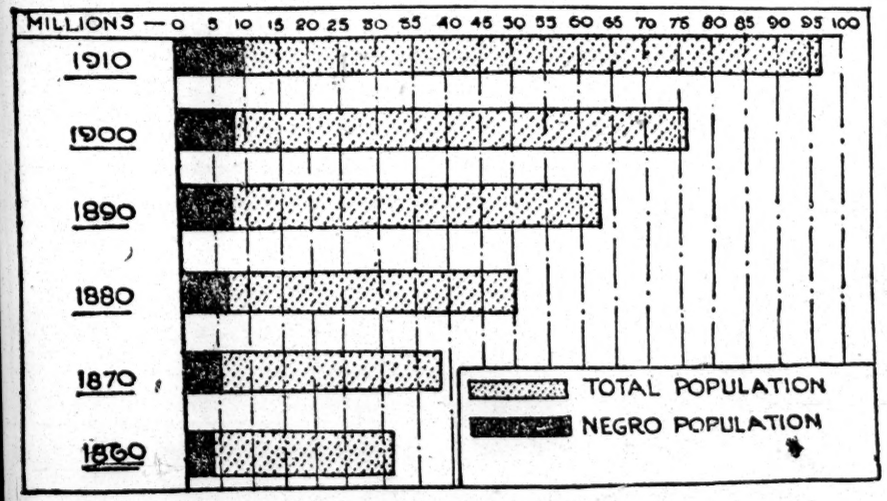
Noah, the First Man,
had three sons:

Shem,	Japheth,	Ham,
whose descendants formed the **Mongolian, or Yellow Race,** of which Chinese and Japanese immigrants form a part of	whose descendants formed the **Caucasian, or White Race,** that makes up a greater part of	whose descendants formed the **Ethiopian, or Black Race,** of which the negroes, first imported as slaves, form a part of

THE AMERICAN CIVILIZATION OF TO-DAY

The Constituents in the Melting Pot

It is a curious fact that race problems usually arise whenever there is an attempt to amalgamate in one civilization representatives from the three distinct races of human society that in Biblical tradition trace their origins respectively to the three sons of Noah.



The Comparative Growth of Negro Population in America

During fifty years the white population increased threefold, while the negro population increased only twofold. This fact is explained in the death of negroes due to their unsanitary conditions of life and to the great influx of white immigrants from Europe.

The Militia on Guard at the East St. Louis Race Riot

TRADITIONAL BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY

Deep Water
Cartoon by Tuthill in the St. Louis Star.

COLONEL CLASHES WITH LABOR CHIEF OVER EAST ST. LOUIS

Constitution 7/7/

After Denouncing Murder of Negroes, Roosevelt Violently Thumps Gompers on Shoulder and Hisses, Cheers and Boos Follow.

7/7/17

"NEAR" FIGHT OCCURRED BEFORE RUSSIAN MISSION

Roosevelt's Denunciation of Rioters Followed Statement by Gompers That Laboring Men Are in Much Same Position as Russians Under Old Regime.

New York, July 6.—Denial by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, that trade unions had had any share in the East St. Louis riots, which was met by a vehement denunciation by Theodore Roosevelt of the murder of helpless negroes, precipitated a tumultuous demonstration at a mass meeting held in Carnegie hall here tonight in honor of the Russian mission to the United States.

Mr. Roosevelt was interrupted by Mr. Gompers, who rose from his seat and approached the former president.

"Why don't you accuse after an investigation?" the labor leader demanded.

With these words he returned to his seat. Colonel Roosevelt strode over to his chair and exclaimed:

"Mr. Gompers, why don't I accuse afterwards? I'll answer now when murder is to be answered."

Roosevelt Lands on Gompers' Shoulder.

With that the colonel brought down on Mr. Gompers' shoulder his open left hand which he had raised above his head. At this juncture many of the men on the platform leaped to their feet and there was a storm of hisses, cheers and "boos" from all parts of the house. When Mr. Roosevelt could make himself heard above the din, he went on:

"I will go to any extreme to bring justice to the laboring man, but when there is murder I will put him down."

When the former president had finished, Mr. Gompers, evidently deeply stirred, started to rise to make rejoinder, but was pushed back into his seat by those who sat near him, while Mayor Mitchel, who presided, pounded vigorously with his gavel in an effort to restore order. Several minutes elapsed before it was possible to introduce Boris Bakhmeteff, the Russian ambassador, and continue the meeting. As the excitement subsided Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Gompers found themselves sitting side by side.

It was at the close of an address by Mr. Gompers that the colonel was recognized by Mayor Mitchel. Mr. Gompers had declared that many laboring men are in much the same position as Russians under the old regime, and had read a telegram he had received tonight from the president of the Federation of Labor of Illinois. This message purported to explain the origin of the East St. Louis riots. It asserted that instead of labor unions being responsible for them, they resulted from employers enticing negroes from the south to the city "to break the back of labor."

Infamous Brutalities, Says Roosevelt.

"There should be no apology for the infamous brutalities committed on the colored people of East St. Louis," declared Colonel Roosevelt, in beginning his vigorous denunciation of the riots.

"Justice is not a mere phrase. It has to be translated into action. How can we praise Russia for doing justice to all people when we must apologize for doing murder to the helpless?

"In the past we have listened to the same excuse from those in authority in old Russia for the fearful pogroms on the Jews. I will do anything for the laboring man except that which is wrong, and that I won't do for him or for anyone else. I care not a snap of my finger for a telegram from the head of the labor unions of Illinois. Let there be the fullest investigation into these murders."

It was at this point that the interruption came from Mr. Gompers. Mr. Roosevelt already had departed a little earlier in the evening from the text of his formal speech of welcome to the Russians to refer to the riots.

"Before I greet the envoys of the new republic," he had said, "I wish to say a word to you in regard to something that has recently occurred inside our own boundaries.

"Before we speak of justice to others it behooves us to do justice within our own boundaries. I refer to the race riots in East St. Louis, a race riot for which, so far as we can see, there was no provocation and which resulted in such appalling brutality as to leave a stain on the American name.

Punish the Murderers.

"It behooves us to express our condemnation of acts that give the lie to our words within the limits of our own country, and to say that it is impossible that there should be justification for mob violence. It is our duty to demand that the governmental authorities shall use with ruthless severity every power at their command to punish those guilty of murder, whether committed by whites against blacks, or whether by blacks against whites.

"It is our duty to insist, first of all, on the restoration of order and the reign of law. Upon the foundation of law and order we must build the structure of justice."

Mr. Roosevelt then welcomed the Russian commission.

Asked if he would make a statement when he was leaving the hall, Colonel Roosevelt said:

"I meant everything I said. I stand by it."

"How about the slap on Mr. Gompers' shoulder?"

"That wasn't a hard blow," the colonel replied. "It was only a gentle touch. I did that to emphasize my point. I have no personal grievance against Mr. Gompers."

When Mr. Gompers was asked to give his side of the controversy, he said:

"I was very much surprised and pained that the colonel acted as he did. He misunderstood me. I made no apology for the riots in the name of labor. I simply explained the situation as it had been reported to me. I repeat, I made no apology. Furthermore, I think the colonel could have reserved his charges—for that's what they were—until an investigation had determined the cause for the riots.

"But I know the colonel," concluded Mr. Gompers. "He was only bluffing."

EAST ST. LOUIS RIOT DENOUNCED BY T. R.

Views Expressed in Letter to Secretary of Illinois Labor Federation.

WON'T CONDONE MURDER

Correspondence Follows Recent Tilt With Gompers at Carnegie Hall.

NEW YORK TIMES
JULY 20, 1917

Col. Theodore Roosevelt made public last night from his home in Oyster Bay a letter which he had written to Victor A. Clander of Chicago, secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in reply to a communication from Mr. Clander dealing with the race riots at East St. Louis. Mr. Clander enclosed a copy of the report of the committee on labor of the Illinois State Council of Defence. Col. Roosevelt's letter in part said:

"Aside from race antipathy the report seems to show that the riots were due to economic conditions. I was not informed in any way as to those economic conditions which it is alleged led up to the riots until after Mr. Gompers's speech on July 6. When on that evening I made my first remarks on the riots I supposed the underlying cause to be racial, and in my remarks I made no allusion whatever to organized labor, or indeed to labor at all, in connection with the riots.

"It was Mr. Gompers's speech which first gave me clearly to understand that the fundamental cause was alleged to be economic, and that organized labor regarded itself as especially concerned with the riots. Then my attention was called to the newspapers of July 4, which carried an alleged statement by Michael Whalen, president of the Central Trades and Labor Councils of East St. Louis. If this statement is correctly reported Mr. Whalen said, 'The chief objection to the negroes is that they would not unionize and would not strike.'

No Warrant for Murder.

"I hold with the utmost intensity of conviction that it is absolutely impossible for us to succeed along the lines of an orderly democracy, a democracy which shall be industrial as well as political, unless we treat the repression of crime, including crimes of violence, and the insistence on justice obtained through the enforcement of law, as prime necessities. I of course refuse under any conditions to accept the fact that certain persons decline 'to unionize and strike' as warranting their murder or as warranting any kind of violence against them.

"But I go much further than this. I will aid in every way in my power to secure by governmental as well as private action the remedying of all the wrongs of labor, and in so acting I shall pay no heed to any capitalistic opposition. But I refuse to treat any industrial conditions as warranting riot and murder; and I condemn all persons, whether representatives of organized labor or not, who attempt to palliate or excuse such crimes or who fail to condemn them in clear cut and unequivocal fashion.

"I heartily believe in organized labor just as, and even more than, I believe in organized capital. I am very proud of being an honorary member of one labor organization, but I will no more condone crime or violence by a labor organization or by workingmen than I will condone crime or wrongdoing by a corporation or by capitalists. A square deal for every man. That is the only safe motto for the United States.

For Peaceable Justice.

"This is a democracy, a government by the people, and the people have supreme power if they choose to exercise it. The people can get justice peaceably if they really desire it, and if they do not desire it enough to show the wisdom, patience and cool headed determination necessary in order to get it peaceably, through the orderly process of law, then they haven't the slightest excuse for trying to get it by riot and murder.

"All the governmental authorities concerned in the East St. Louis situation should have taken notice of that situation in advance, and should take notice of it now. The national Government and all local governmental authorities in places where such a situation is likely to arise, should take notice now and act now. Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time.

"If there has been improper solicitation of negroes to come to East St. Louis or improper housing and working conditions among them after they have come, or an improperly low wage scale, or if anything else improper has been done by the capitalists and employers so that injustice has been done the workingmen, then it was the bounden duty, and is now the bounden duty, of the Government authorities to remedy the wrong and see justice done the workingmen.

"But the first consideration is to stop and to punish lawless and murderous violence. Lawless violence inevitably breeds lawless violence in return, and the first duty of the Government is relentlessly to put a stop to the violence and then to deal firmly and wisely with all the conditions that led up to the violence. If black men are lawlessly and brutally murdered in the end the effect is to produce lawlessness among brutal blacks."

Grand Jury Holds Him Responsible for Riot

Chicago Defender
9/15/17

Finds Thirty-Nine Others Guilty —Trials Start October 1

By J. M. Batchman

East St. Louis, Ill., Sept. 14.—The investigation into the recent riot situation here has reached such a high pitch and proceeded with such persistence that there seems to be some grounds for the belief that some good will actually result from the carnival of blood and mob violence that played such havoc with both races in this city recently.

From all evidence it is highly probable that the obstreperous element will derive a great object lesson from the manner in which the grand jury will deal with them, as they have been very uncompromising in their attitude toward participants in the July massacre. Saturday the St. Clair county grand jury returned indictments against thirty-seven persons, but their names were withheld pending their arrest. This same grand jury indicted 105 persons on Aug. 14 on charges growing out of the riots, some of whom were prominent police officials, who greatly aided the notorious element in its wholesale slaughter upon the lives of Race men and women. Those included in this board of advice that helped the mob are the Hon. (?) Mayor Mollman and his private secretary, Maurice Ahearn. These men acted as czars in piloting the rough-neck white murderers in the attempt to crush and drive the Race from the city. In the first return of the jury to Judge Crow sixty-three indictments carried a total of 384 individual cases. Deputy sheriffs up to last Tuesday had arrested seventy-three, thirty-two of whom were released on bonds and the other forty-one are in the Belleville jail. Capiases have been issued for the other thirty-two.

Conditions have been critical since the grand jury has been hard at work. After the last day of the riot a number of white people left the city, and it is reported that many are still slipping away under cover of night. The September grand jury meets on the 17th and the present jury recommends that it continue the work with the same seriousness and earnestness in order to stamp out the unruly element. In its report it says: "We have not been able, for lack of time, to apprehend and return indictments against all who have committed crimes in the recent riots in East St. Louis. The grand jury of the September term meets on the 17th and we recommend that they continue this investigation and return indictments against others who are guilty of having committed crimes."

Mayor Mollman was elected on a "law and order" platform in 1915 and was re-elected last spring. His indictment on Saturday was on a charge of malfeasance in office, and utter neglect of all principles in the administration of justice, law and order, and that he greatly abetted the mob in its inflated rashness. It is claimed that he surrounded himself with a coterie of corrupt politicians and bowed in humble submission to the labor agents who used him as a means to an end. The better elements of whites have begun to clamor for his resignation and state that the greatest good he can contribute is to fulfill their wish.

Maurice Ahearn, the secretary to Mollman, was also indicted for conspiracy, the specific charge against him being that the mayor used him to muzzle the cameras, and to order destroyed all photographs relative to the riots. The assistance he rendered the mob was valuable, and his only aim was to cripple the grand jury in its search for evidence. The report states that "no man gave greater aid to the rioters than did Ahearn." Mollman and Ahearn, it is alleged, teamed in the event to act as a mouthpiece for their political advisers, and that they repulsed all aid offered by law-abiding citizens to help quell the riot. The evidence points that they crippled the militia and refused to direct them; the mayor also failed to enlist the services of the deputy sheriff and turned a deaf ear on the appeal of citizens to aid the sheriff. His lack of ability and respect for law and order is the prime object of his being removed from office and a more efficient person placed in his stead.

Some of the labor agents who have used him as a tool are now trying to skulk behind rhetorical utterances and expressing their sympathies with those who are now suffering as a result of the disrespect of law and order.

Following the riots a committee of 100, composed of business and professional men of the city, formed themselves in a body and endeavored to bring law and order into the muddled governmental affairs. The board of fire and police commissioners resigned under fire, and Dr. J. F. Reid, Fred Giessing, a merchant, and Edw. J. Coffey, local representatives of the Southern railway, were appointed on the new board. The body was the only controlling element in the attempt to place the police department on an efficient basis.

The penalty for malfeasance in office, with which Mollman is charged, is a fine of from $1 to $1,000, and upon conviction he is ousted from office. It is stated that Mollman's bond is fixed at $2,000 and Ahearn's at $1,000. Mollman has been on a vacation (?) near Moab, Mo. Ahearn refused to make a statement until charges are presented directly.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

Given Fourteen Years Penal Servitude

Chicago Defender

TRIALS OF WHITES START

10-13-17

BY STAFF CORRESPONDENT
(Special to the Chicago Defender)

Belleville, Ill., Oct. 12.—Ten of the thirteen members of the Race who have been on trial here a week, charged with murder of Detective Samuel Coppedge on the morning of July 2d, during the race riot in East St. Louis, were found guilty here Sunday and were formally sentenced Monday to fourteen years in the penitentiary. The other three were acquitted.

Those found guilty were Fayette Parker, Othaniel Peoples, George Roberts, Horace Thomas, Marshall Alexander, Dee Smothermahn, Albert Hughes, Bud Townsend, Will Parker and Chas. Foster. Those who were set free were Thomas Tackett, Guy Moore and Lester Fowler.

Collapsed After Verdict

The jury who had been given the case about 11:00 o'clock Saturday night announced at 1:30 Sunday afternoon that a verdict had been reached. Judge G. A. Crow was summoned from home and responded promptly, his wife sitting with him on the bench when the verdict was read. Only court attaches, the prisoners and the newspaper men were in the court room when the verdict was read. Outside between the court house and the jail, women relatives and wives of the prisoners stood and wept.

Smothermann collapsed when the verdict was read. It was necessary to remove the handcuffs from him and work with him for some time. He was one of the men whom the state wove some damaging evidence against. He, however, offered a strong alibi, claiming that he was at a wake at People's home.

Judge Questions Jury

When the prisoners filed into court there was tense silence. Before the verdict was read to the prisoners, Judge Crow asked each juryman was the verdict his own verdict and received an answer yes. The reason this was done was because the attorneys for the defense were absent. Special Assistant State's Attorney Farmer, representing the state, was present. After the verdict was read he told the court that the state had other charges against the three men who were released.

One of the ten convicted was Will Palmer who on Friday offered his willingness to turn state's evidence but later changed his mind when the court told him that they offered no immunity.

Argues Till Early Morning

Testimony was introduced to show that previous to the killing of the detective Race men had armed themselves at the home of Dr. Bundy. Dr. Bundy is under indictment, but is in Ohio, and the stanch friendship and belief of his innocence has caused societies and lodges of the Race to use their influence and political power to keep the doctor from being handed back to the authorities in this state.

Attorneys for the defense argued that testimony of persons who did not appear before the grand jury was not admissible, but Judge Crow ruled in favor of the state.

Charles Miller (white) of East St. Louis was the first witness. Objection was raised, as he did not appear before the grand jury. This also was overruled.

He testified that between 11 and 12 o'clock on the night of July 1 he drove past Seventeenth street and Bond avenue and saw between fifty and seventy-five Negroes congregated near the home of Bundy and a gasoline filling station. He could not see whether they were armed.

Marshall Stapp (white) of 171 Market avenue testified that about 11 o'clock several automobile loads of Negroes passed his house, going in the direction of Bundy's home, a block away, and many had passed on foot going in the same direction. They were talking excitedly and he could see that some carried guns and revolvers.

Frank Reedy (white), a grocer at 1001 South Sixteenth street, testified that before 11 o'clock he was awakened by voices and saw men passing his house. He could not see whether they were white or black, but he said he recognized them as Negroes by their voices. Objection to this manner of identifying members of the Race was made by the defense, but overruled. The witness said he heard some of them saying they were going to Tenth street. It was at Tenth street and Bond avenue that Coppedge was killed.

Says He Heard Church Bells

About 11 o'clock he heard the church bell ringing and for half an hour after that there was shooting. He thought that about 2,000 shots were fired.

Mrs. George Wodley, sister-in-law of Policeman Wodley, was called to the stand, but an objection to her testifying, because her name was not on the indictment, was sustained. Her name will be placed on the indictment and she will then be permitted to testify.

The court room was well filled, about half of the audience being Race people. Farmer is being assisted by Assistant Attorney General Middlekauf and State's Attorney Schaumleffel. The defendants are represented by five attorneys, headed by Samuel Baxter.

Selection of the jury, which seemed likely to occupy several days, was speeded up when Judge Crow checked indiscriminate peremptory challenges by informing the lawyers that they would have to get a jury from the venire on hand and that he would hold court all night if necessary to complete the jury. Although it had taken two days to get nine jurors, the jury was completed at 9 p. m.

The defense and the state were each entitled to 260 peremptory challenges and were using them freely until Judge Crow interposed. When the jury was completed, the defense had used 81 challenges, the state 33 and 16 had been excused for cause. In all, 142 talesmen were examined.

Alibi testimony was introduced in behalf of all of the defendants.

John Henry Johnson, the witness who made the admissions, testified that Bud Townsend, one of the defendants was at home on the night of July 1 at 1002 South Sixteenth street, where Johnson and Townsend lived.

Johnson said he was awakened by Alice Harris, who lived at the same house, and who is a witness for Townsend. He said he "heard the church bell ringing" as he awoke.

Bell "Meant Something Doing"

"What interest did the ringing of the bell have for you?" State's Attorney Schaumleffel asked in cross-questioning Johnson. He hesitated, then answered:

"I knew there was going to be something doing when the bell rang."

Q. What was going to be doing?

A. I knew there was going to be another riot.

Q. What were you supposed to do when the bell rang?

A. I was supposed to keep myself from getting shot.

Q. How did you learn about this?

A. I heard it on a street car. The day before (Saturday, June 30) I heard some Colored men say there would be another riot next day, and that when the church bell rang everybody wanted to look out and keep from getting shot.

Further questioning failed to bring out the names of any of the men from whom he had heard this. His references to "another riot" indicated that Race men at that time had in mind the riot of May 28, in which a number of them were beaten.

Testimony on Previous Riot Barred

At the opening of the defense's testimony Thursday Judge Crow refused to admit testimony as to the riot of May 28, the later isolated attacks on the Race, or the raid made on their residence district on the night of July 1 by white "joy riders," who fired into houses.

The ringing of the church bell at Sixteenth street and Tudor avenue, East St. Louis, on the night of July 1, was the chief issue in Friday's testimony in behalf of the thirteen prisoners on trial in the Belleville Circuit court for the murder of Detective Sergeant Coppedege on that night.

Several witnesses, called Friday to testify to alibis for the defendants were asked when they heard the bell ring, and all said it rang after the volley of shots which killed the policeman. It had previously been assumed that the bell rang before the police automobile arrived, and that it summoned the assemblage of armed Negroes which the policemen found.

The prosecution has undertaken to show that the ringing of the bell was a pre-arranged signal, that it is proof of a conspiracy, and that all who answered the summons shared in the guilt of murder. The defense appeared to be trying to show that the bell was rung for no definite reason, or as an alarm following the encounter with the police.

The prosecution believed its theory of a conspiracy was strengthened by the admissions obtained from John Henry Johnson, who said on cross-examination yesterday afternoon that he had heard Negroes say on the day before the killings that there would be "something doing" when the bell rang, and that he should then "look out and keep from getting shot."

Alibis Offered for Four

The defendants for whom the morning's witnesses offered alibis were Dee Smotherman, Fayette Parker, William Palmer and Othaniel Peoples. The testimony was that Peoples and Palmer were in bed at Peoples' house and that Smotherman and Parker were calling on the family, at the time of the shots and bell ringing. Testimony was given Wednesday by Edward Wilson that Smotherman and Peoples were in the crowd from which the shots were fired and were carrying weapons.

William Blakely, 1602 Piggott avenue, giving alibi testimony in behalf of Thomas Tackett, said on cross-examination that he had been told by other members of the Race that when the church bell rang there was going to be trouble. He said he heard a volley about midnight and was not frightened at that, but when he heard the church bell he was frightened.

Armed Gathering Described

Testimony was given that rifles and shotguns were stored in Bundy's home and in Bayles' saloon, and that Bundy's red automobile and Bayles' black car were driven around the neighborhood on July 1. The attorneys for the prosecution charged, in their speeches, that these cars were used by their owners in distributing the stored-up weapons, in furtherance of a conspiracy for violence.

James Farmer, special prosecutor, and State's Attorney Schaumleffel, in their talks for the prosecution, ridiculed the testimony for the defense, which consisted wholly of individual alibis for all the defendants. They called attention to the fact that the alibi witnesses were mostly members of the accused men's families, and asked how they could remember where the men were on a particular night more than three months ago. To this the defense's lawyers made the reply that the occurrences of the first two days of July were firmly fixed in the memories of those who went through the horrible affair which disgraced the state.

L. P. Zerweck, for the defense, attacked the state's star witness, Edward Wilson, a Race man, who identified all the defendants, except one, as having been in an armed crowd which he saw at Fifteenth street and Piggott avenue on the night of the killings. The one he did not identify was Lester Fowler, against whom, however, there was other testimony.

State Charges Conspiracy

The prosecution laid stress on the charge of conspiracy, which would involve all those present in the guilt of the killings. It urged that conspiracy was proven by the fact that three white men were fired on and driven from the neighborhood an hour before the killing of the detectives, and that there was an unusual activity of Race men through the evening, in moving about the streets, as testified by white neighbors. The storing of weapons and their alleged distribution were also dwelt on in the prosecution's arguments.

Those who made arguments were: For the state, Farmer, Schaumleffel and G. W. Middlekauk, assistant attorney general; for the defense, Grover Borders, representing Guy Moore; James McHale, representing Marshal Alexander; Zerweck and Samuel Baxter, representing the defendants generally.

By the court's ruling, the defense was restricted to individual alibis, and it had a number of these in readiness. The first alibis offered were those of Bud Townsend and Alfred Hughes, the latter living at 1423 Piggott avenue. In both cases it was testified that the men were at home.

The state rested its case after it had failed to establish the individual ownership of 22 rifles and shotguns, which were laid on a table before the jury. Detective Haeffner, who was expected to testify as to the ownership of the weapons, was excluded from testifying on the ground that his name had not appeared on the indictments or on the supplemental list of witnesses furnished to the defense. Former Chief of Detectives Stocker, who was then called, said the weapons had been taken from Race men, but could not identify individuals.

Attorneys' arguments continued until an early hour Sunday morning.

While the arguments were in progress, Judge Crow said he would hear the arguments through, and would then give his charge to the jury, place the case in the jury's hands and go home. He said he would receive a verdict at any time Sunday, if the jury should be ready to return it.

It appeared likely, both from the testimony and from the arguments, that the jury would have to make considerable distinction in its treatment of the different defendants. The prosecution centered its attack on four men, Othaniel Peoples, Marshall Alexander, George Roberts and Dee Smotherman, whom it charges, planned violence against white people and fired on a police automobile, killing two city detectives.

On the other hand, there has been little individual evidence against some of the others, Guy Moore and Tom Tackett in particular, and it was believed that these two stood the best chance of acquittal or leniency from the jury.

There has been much comment on the fact that the prosecution made a stronger case against Leroy N. Bundy, dentist and politician, than it made against any of the others on trial. Bundy has been under arrest in Cleveland since Aug. 13, but the prosecuting authorities have not succeeded in bringing him back for trial.

Another man against whom damaging testimony was given, who has not been brought to trial, is James Bayles, saloon proprietor. A capias for his arrest has been issued, but he has not been found.

One Hundred Whites to Be Tried

All the defendants live in the neighborhood bounded by Fourteenth and Nineteenth streets and Market and Piggott avenues. It is a notable fact that in the riot of July 2 the houses in this neighborhood were not burned. The Race men there were known to be armed, and the white rioters mostly preferred to stay in other sections and to attack Negroes who were not even suspected of having had any part in the killing of the detectives.

Trials of white men on charges of murder, conspiracy and incitement to riot will begin Wednesday, and it is

expected that three courts will be in session at once. Judges Gilham of Edwardsville and Browning of East St. Louis are to hear the cases, in which more than 100 white men are defendants.

White women who were arrested for participations in the riots are expected to be important witnesses against some of the men. Some of the women are known to have confessed and turned state's evidence.

To Appeal Case

Attorneys for the defense promptly announced the verdict of the jury would not be permitted to stand without a fight and the case will in all probability be taken to the Supreme Court.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its St. Louis branch, has been actively at work for some time in the defense of these men, and Attorney Homer G. Phillips was associated with the defense at Belleville. Mr. Phillips is a strong Race man and a lawyer of considerable prominence in the profession. It is at least helpful to the Race's cause to have associated in these cases Race men with legal ability, because then we know when we get the best efforts of those white lawyers who seek our hard-earned dollars for pleading our cases.

Judge Crow's instructions to the jury Saturday required forty-five minutes to read, and coincident with the closing of the first riot trial was the announcement that the congressional investigation would open in East St. Louis on the 17th inst. On this committee are Ben Johnson of Kentucky, John E. Raker of California, Martin D. Foster of Illinois, Henry A. Cooper of Wisconsin and George Edmund Foss of Chicago. This committee will have full power to summon witnesses, send for persons and papers and exercise all congressional functions of this nature.

After more than 100 talesmen had been examined, a jury was obtained tonight in the Circuit court here to try Herbert F. Wood, 40 years old, a switchman, and Leo Keane, 17 years old, a messenger, 3736 Cozens avenue, St. Louis, charged with the murder of Scott Clark, whom they dragged through the street with a rope around his neck. Clark was shot on Broadway, near Fourth street, during the race riots in East St. Louis, July 2 last. The selection of the jury required two days.

Race Hatred a Grave Issue

NYC MAIL
AUGUST 21, 1917

Charles Nagel, in an article in the "American Leader," published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, advances the view that the East St. Louis race riots present a grave national problem. After reviewing all the explanations which have been given of the outbreak—labor rivalry, strike agitation, police and militia ineffectiveness—Mr. Nagel writes:

The moving cause for the riots lies deeper than all these. The violence that was here manifested was born of nothing less than race hatred. It is the same cause for massacres that disgrace the pages of all history. Political oppression or misgovernment of any kind may be explained upon other grounds. But when it comes to the savage and indiscriminate destruction of life, sparing neither sex nor age, the moving power is ever the feeling of race against race—those who occupy a position of advantage against those who are less fortunate but show signs of competitive progress.

For illustration we need not go to Armenia or to Russia. Our own country provides examples enough. In many instances our Indians were tolerated until they gave proof of capacity for civilization. It was the red man's challenge of equality that roused the white man to deport and to segregate him. The black man's fate is the same, only a thousand times intensified. The worthless "nigger" is the cause assigned for acts of lawlessness against the race.

Down deep lies the profounder cause—the determination that the black man shall not enter the field of toil and strife as a full-fledged man; shall not be permitted to make good the promise that constitution and law have exacted of him. So long as he remains virtually a slave his misconduct is overlooked; when he struggles to rise out of this inherited state his effort is resented.

At this time we might dwell upon still other examples of race hatred that are calculated to furnish food for thought. There are other riots taking place in our country. The mob is reaching higher up, and begins to strike at all "foreigners." The term is sufficiently flexible to be advantageously employed by those who have the clubs and the guns against those who are defenseless.

In the meantime we are merrily feeding the flames of race hatred; preaching discord, contempt and suspicion—one against the other. The unrest among our people is widespread. Uneasiness and even fear are general; because excuse and provocation are written and spoken for the manifestation of the mob spirit. It is time to reflect. We need all the man power we can command. It is dangerous—it spells disaster—to permit our forces to destroy or weaken each other in a conflict of hate and violence.

This threatens to become a national menace. Every riot crowned with substantial success invites further outrages or labor disturbances in other localities. There is altogether too much dependence upon the will and ability of local authorities. They can hardly be trusted to cope with conditions that are the outgrowth, in large part, of official incompetency. National authority alone can discourage or suppress these demonstrations of passion, hate and brutality.

As was said in these columns when the last immigration bill was before Congress, colored men would migrate to fill the inevitable gap in the North. The war has accentuated that situation. The economic rule brooks no resistance. The "foreigner," too, will work in obedience to the rule. He must live, and we must have his work. If every "American" in the land were to go to the shop or the farm (which many have no immediate disposition to do), the "foreigner" is still essential to keep our industries, mines and farms up to the required standard. There never was greater need or reason for intelligent and tolerant cooperation of all our people.

RACE RIOTS COMING WITH NEGRO EXODUS

MAYBE "BLACKBELT" LAWS

DECLARES REV DR DeBERRY SPRINGFIELD MASS REPUB JULY 9, 1917

East St Louis Black-Butchery Shames Our Democracy—Blames Labor Unions—"Glad Some Died Like Men," He Says

Race riots, friction and the enactment of proscriptive segregation laws may be expected as inevitable incidents of the present exodus of the Negro to northern communities, Rev Dr W. N. DeBerry declared at St John's church yesterday morning. The pastor was referring to the recent disturbances at East St Louis, when so many people of his race were cruelly murdered. A community of southern Negroes is being established in this city and others are coming into various parts of New England and the north.

Speaking further Mr DeBerry said: "But let us have the faith to believe that the hand of God is in it all, and if we wait upon him he will renew our strength and in due time vindicate our cause." He scoffs at the idea of the country sending our boys to the trenches in France to fight for a world democracy, when we are absolutely unable to give the world an illustration of national democracy at home. The labor unions are assigned as the instigators of the infamous riots. He also commented on the failure of the government to act.

Negroes Didn't All Die "Like Sheep"

A description of the riots was given by Mr DeBerry at the outset, when he called attention to the fact that some of his people died manly deaths. "All," he exclaimed, "did not die like sheep. A few of them died like men and sold their lives dear."

Mr DeBerry said in part:

"There was a time when the published description of such an orgy of murder and crime as took place at East St Louis last week would have so aroused the moral sense of the American public that it would have asserted itself in nation wide protest and censure, and the government itself would have speedily taken measures to secure to the remnant of these persecuted citizens their rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' But such a time is past.

Where Is Our "Democracy?"

"Never was there in this country more blatant, hollow talk about democracy than there is to-day, but never before was there less of the real spirit of democracy among the people. We have become so insanely enthusiastic over the matter that we are sending the flower of our youth to France to perish in the trenches for 'world democracy' (whatever that may mean) but we are absolutely unable to give to the world an illustration of national democracy here at home. What astounding inconsistency.

"There can be no real democracy in this country so long as any American citizen is deprived of his rights as a man and citizen on account of his race or color or religion. Will Americans have the effrontery to censure the brutality of the Germans in Belgium or the barbarity of the Turks in Armenia after reading the story of this bloody massacre and holocaust by American men and women? It is enough to make every decent American hang his head in shame and tremble for the future of his country. If it be true that history repeats itself; if it be true that nations like individuals must reap what they sow; then it must also be true that this nation must yet pay the dread penalty of such revolting crimes against humanity. The innocent blood of the slain will cry from the ground for avenging.

America Should Unite, Not Split

"To-day the iron hand of justice is busy across the waters in righting the wrongs of a century. The age-long sins of nations are being atoned for by unspeakable human suffering and an unprecedented toll of human life. Who knows but that America may be next called to pass under this iron hand of retribution? How inopportune a time is this for any one class of our citizenship to thus make war upon another. How unwise at this time to thus feed the fires of race friction and hate and thereby disintegrate rather than cement the vital elements of the nation's strength. Is not this the time above all others for this country to conserve not only its material resources but also the allegiance and patriotism of all its racial groups?

"America needs more than material and military preparedness against the dangers which threaten its life. Among these many groups, who has been more loyal than the Negro in all the crises through which we have passed? Who among them is more loyal than he to-day? He has never been a traitor in war nor an anarchist in peace. But he has never yet had the full freedom of an American citizen. Still, with an endurance almost superhuman, he plods on the way of progress. He advances steadily forward in spite of the insults, the injustice and the fiendish barbarity of his white brother, who talks loudly of democracy and freedom.

We May Have Our Own Race Riots

"When will this stronger brother be willing to accord to the weaker a man's chance in the race of life? Let us as Negroes not become wholly discouraged when called to pass through such gloomy shadows as were cast over us by the distressing events of the past week. We may expect race riots and friction as an inevitable incident of the present exodus to northern communities, and in many places the enactment of proscriptive, segregation laws. But let us have the faith to believe that the hand of God is in it all and if we wait upon him he will renew our strength and in due time vindicate our cause.

"Let us continue to be loyal citizens and obey the laws of the land: let us continue the education of our children, the development of character and the accumulation of property; let us remember that because of the peculiar disadvantages of our position as a people in this country it is folly for us to ape the unwise conduct of other races, even though it be our right to do so. It may be lawful, but very indiscreet; let us draw near together in closer bonds of racial union: and in these trying days of woeful persecution and wrong, let us keep the stiff upper lip of patient endurance and hope. If we do these things there is no earthly power strong enough to crush and destroy us or to keep us from the goal of our destiny as a necessary part of the American people."

BRINGING NEGROES NORTH MERIDEN CONN JOURNAL JULY 6, 1917

The race riots in St. Louis are traced to the bringing there of negroes from further south to act as strikebreakers. Over fifty people have been killed and hundreds injured and great property destruction brought about as the inflamed whites of East St. Louis registered their protest against the bringing in of colored folks to take their places. While the trouble still smolders in Missouri there is a fear that these race riots may spread all over the country, especially here in the east where thousands of southern negroes have been brought.

Upon a conservative estimate it is probable that nearly 400,000 negroes have gone north, says the World's Work for July. The earlier manifestations of the movement, which began to be widely noticed in the spring of 1916, were more or less sporadic and feverish, and due largely to the activities of northern labor agents, especially those representing railroad companies. Trains were backed into several southern cities and hundreds of negroes were gathered up in a day, loaded into the cars, and whirled away to the north.

They tell of instances in which negro teamsters left their horses standing in the streets, or deserted their jobs and went to the trains without notifying their employers or even going home. But this spring the movement has become more or less organized, and, while not so spectacular, is probably more widespread. Large manufacturing and railroad corporations in the north now have regular agents to direct the importations of negro laborers; and members of negro colonies already established, chiefly in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and southern New England, are drawing strongly from among their friends in the south.

In certain parts of southern Georgia and Alabama, especially where the larger tenant farming is still practiced, whole neighborhoods have been depleted of their men of the best working ages, and often whole families have moved. Between 75,000 and 100,000 have settled in Pennsylvania alone, a large number being employed by the Pennsylvania and Erie railroads, and still larger numbers in the steel mills, the munition plants, and other manufacturing establishments.

Riots—1917

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ENDS ITS INVESTIGATION

Chicago Nov 24-17 Defender

BY J. M. BATCHMAN

Chicago Defender Staff Correspondent

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 23.—The truth is slowly making its way to the surface in East St. Louis. I was talking to a prominent resident of that city last week, and he gave some facts concerning conditions which have prevailed there that make it a matter of wonder that violence so long remained quiescent. According to him, East St. Louis is a poor man's city, has been for years, with a large per cent of foreigners. He said there is not at present a resident of the city whose ancestry could be traced back to East St. Louis soil for forty years who could be considered trained; not one such could the city claim who could boast of a college education. Members of the school board were said to be lacking in training; there is not a first class dry goods store in the city, not a first class meat market, and when asked about Mayor Mollman, he said: "I have known him for a number of years, but I never considered him a vicious fellow. He was always thought to be a good sort of chap; about an eighth grade student, a merchant on a small scale, but incapable of leadership in large things. During the riots I changed my opinion of him, and I expect to see him pay the fiddler."

The Ten Convicted Men Believed Innocent

This gentleman was firmly of the opinion, so thoroughly shared by the Colored people of this city. He said the ten men who were first convicted and sent to the penitentiary were the victims of Race prejudice, pure and simple. He based his view on the evidence which failed to place them closer to the scene of the crime than eight blocks. It will be remembered that their trial and conviction resolved itself into a question of identity. These men were good, hard-working citizens; members of leading fraternal societies, churches, etc., and identified with the better life of the city. St. Louisans have long thought that the legal procedure in this instance went awry, but were slow to make accusations in the face of what they thought. These unfortunates—the victims of a racial condition which has long been a curse to the country—are now serving out their sentences. However, it is expected steps will soon materialize toward giving them that protection to which every American citizen is entitled.

N. A. A. C. P. to the Rescue

The St. Louis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is raising money and co-operating with the New York office in seeing that proper steps are taken to give all these people protection. This organization is behind the fight which is being made in behalf of Dr. Leroy N. Bundy, JUST AS IT IS BEHIND THE TEN MEN WHO ARE IN THE PENITENTIARY AND ALL OTHERS WHO ARE WORTHY. Outside of what they are doing, there is no organized effort and never has been one in these cases. The fraternities have done something, but their work has had a limited scope. The N. A. A. C. P. seeks the aid of all Race loving people to assist, and the St. Louis branch is asking that all contributions for these purposes be sent to William H. Huffman, treasurer, Pythian Temple, 3137 Pine street, St. Louis, Mo. It is realized by the best informed people of the city that if the greatest results are secured this supreme effort for justice should be centered and managed from one source, and for this reason believe all moneys intended for ANY of these defendants should be pooled; for their cases are all of a nature to make the fights racial and of such similarity. It is absolutely true this body has retained the most competent and trustworthy counsel to be secured in the country, and while some may find fault and criticise, results are what we want and this one organization leads all others at the present time. All moneys from whatever source should finally find their way into the association's treasury and those friends of the Race who take up the fight in assisting in the movement will be repaid by what is accomplished.

Most Representative Body

Your correspondent speaks from a personal knowledge of this body in this appeal. I am not a member, never have been, but what they have done should bear the approval of all. The officers of the local branch are as representative and influential a class of men and women as can be found in any large city in the country. I have a personal acquaintance with most of them, and complete reliance can be placed in their ability and honesty in caring for the welfare of Dr. Bundy and the ten men who preceded him in the riot trials. The association looks on all these cases impartially, going the same length for EACH INDIVIDUAL regardless of his prominence, with the sole idea of obtaining the greatest measure of justice.

Congressional Hearings Closed

The congressional committee closed its hearings last week with the promise that if conditions warrant they will convene either in East St. Louis or Washington.

I interviewed persons who attended these hearings. One said if it had not been for the fact that this committee made the investigations in East St. Louis the white riot situation would have been whitewashed over and nothing of any consequence done. This person gave it as his opinion that these investigations changed or stimulated the efforts of Attorney Middlekauf. It was this person's impression, Mr. Middlekauf was spurred much beyond what was expected to have been his effort at first.

East St. Louis

A Poor State's Attorney

During the testimony taken by the committee, a glance was given into the character of certain officials on the east side. Stewart Campbell (white), superintendent of the State Free Employment Bureau, testified that he saw State's Attorney H. E. Schaumleffel on Collinsville avenue, near a point where mobs were operating on the afternoon of July 2, and that Schaumleffel was apparently intoxicated.

"Didn't it surprise you to see the state's attorney of this county on the streets drunk?" inquired Congressman Cooper. "It did not," was the emphatic response. "I've seen him drunk many times."

Testimony during these hearings all bore out the allegation the persons upon whom devolved mostly the enforcement of the law were either in "cahoots" with the lawless element, or under the influence of those who profited from lawlessness.

Committee Protects Witnesses

Before the committee closed its labors it appointed three clerks to the committee as a means of protection from various threats which have been brought to its attention. These persons were Myrtle Gardner, a white slaver victim; Rev. George W. Allison, pastor of the First Baptist church, and a vice crusade leader, and Paul Y. Anderson, a Post-Dispatch reporter, all white. A number of the persons against whom they testified will have to appear before the bar of congress in December.

White Men on Trial

The first cases called by the Belleville Circuit court after the short recess is nearing its close, and the public is anxious to know the outcome. Much damaging testimony against the accused has been produced, and at this writing there seems to be good grounds, if there is no miscarriage of justice, that the state will secure convictions. The defense has rested largely on alibi testimony.

Hell Definitely Located

What has taken place since the riots of July has tended to confirm the conclusion that hell is no longer a place of mystery or a thing about which one need deal in speculation. It has been definitely located in the metropolis of St. Clair county. If his Satanic Majesty can conjure through his cunning more lewdness, vice and contempt for the teachings of the lowly Nazarene, than East St. Louis, proof of his prowess has never been shown. East St. Louis has been, has done and is yet capable of all that is vile, degrading and contemptible. Out of this corrupt municipality there have appeared some faint evidences that an awakening is in the offing. However, East St. Louis has yet to demonstrate to the world she is capable of a place in the confidence of respectable American cities.

3 INQUIRIES INTO EAST SIDE RIOTS ARE IN PROGRESS

Military Board and Coroner's Jury Take Evidence in East St. Louis and Grand Jury Begins Work in Belleville.

WHOLESALE RETURN OF INDICTMENTS EXPECTED

Six Militia Companies Will Depart Tomorrow, but 800 Guardsmen Will Remain to Prevent New Race Disorders.

Three investigations of the East St. Louis race riots which caused the deaths of thirty-three persons are in progress in St. Clair County today. A military board and a coroner's jury are taking evidence in East St. Louis, while the Grand Jury at Belleville is squaring away for a hearing which is expected to result in the voting of many indictments.

The Military Board appointed by Governor Lowden began working this morning.

Five members of the board are serving. Col. H. R. Hill of Quincy is chairman. Other members are: Col. Milton J. Foreman, Chicago; Maj. E. D. Tolman, Chicago; Brig. Gen. James E. Stewart and Maj. Richard Abbott, Petersburg.

Board Travels Over City.

The members of the board spent virtually all of this morning visiting the various points in East St. Louis where the rioting was most serious. The burned negro dstricts also were inspected.

Mollman Is First Witness.

Mayor Mollman was the first witness to appear before the Military Board . The Board has adopted the policy which characterized sessions of the Coroner's Jury—that of secrecy. Although it had been announced the Board would permit reporters in the room during its hearings, admittance was denied them.

The actual hearing of testimony by the board was begun at 11 a. m. in the East St. Louis city hall. It is said the board has a list of 100 witnesses to be examined.

The hearing will cover every angle of the rioting, it is understood, and will not be limited merely to an investigation of the military aspects.

Six Militia Companies to Go.

The coroner's inquest into the thirty-three deaths resulting from the rioting was resumed this afternoon. noon.

Six militia companies, which have been on duty since the riots, will be sent home tomorrow. This will take about 600 guardsmen from the city and will leave about 800 still on guard.

The companies to depart are: A of Casey; C of Sullivan, and L of Olney, all of the Fourth Regiment; F of Pontiac, Third Regiment, and J and I of the Second Regiment of Chicago.

Milltia officers are discussing today the situation which will arise if guardsmen still are on duty in East St. Louis July 25, as indications are they will be.

On that date the Illinois National Guard automatically goes into federal service and is supposed to mobilize in Texas.

Two possibilities have been suggested. Either special permission will be given the federalized militiamen to remain or a new regiment of militia, now being organized by Col. C. E. Ryman of Effingham, will be called.

Two other men were arrested in East St. Louis yesterday on mittimuses from the Coroner's Jury charging murder. One is John Dow, an ice wagon driver, said to have been a leader in the mob which took a negro from a street car at Collinsville and Illinois avenue and killed him. The other man is Herbert Woods, 509 South Fourth street, East St. Louis, charged with being a leader in the mob which hanged a negro at Fourth street and Broadway.

The St. Clair County grand jury began its investigation of the riot after instructions had been given this morning by Circuit Judge Crow. "There is no question of greater moment to the State of Illinois than this investigation," said Judge Crow. "The eyes of every Illinois city are upon this grand jury, and the outcome is everywhere awaited with interest.

"Must Be No Whitewashing."

"It is your duty to thoroughly investigate this affair and to bring in indictments wherever they are warranted, no matter who must suffer nor what their standing in the community."

"There must be no whitewashing."

Judge Crow said that if it was found that militiamen shot persons in cold blood and not in the performance of their duty, they should be indicted.

He read the law, which requires civil authorities to disperse mobs. He said it would be the duty of the grand jury to indict East St. Louis civil authorities if it were found they had not enforced that law.

Assistants of Attorney General Brundage are co-operating with State's Attorney Schaumleffel in the grand jury investigation.

The East St. Louis Police Board Saturda ynight suspended Chief of Police Ransom Payne and Nigh

Chief "Con" Hickey. Sergt. William F. Moore is acting chief today and Sergt. A. O. Ely will be acting night chief tonight.

IMPORTATION OF NEGROES BLAMED FOR RACE RIOTS

Present Outbreak Started When Mob of Blacks Shot Detective.

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 3, 1917

Negro Offers $100 to a Policeman to Rescue His Family

A negro in the last stages of excitement during last night's rioting in East St. Louis, ran up to Patrolman Murphy stationed at the St. Louis approach to the Free Bridge, pulled out a huge roll of bills and said: "Mister, I'll give you $100 if you'll go to East St. Louis and get my family." He said he was employed in St. Louis, but did not care to venture across the river to rescue his family himself.

The alleged importation of negroes from the South to East St. Louis last fall for employment in industries is indirectly the cause of the race riots which culminated in wholesale destruction of life and property last night.

A special commission appointed by Governor Lowden conducted hearings in East St. Louis early in June in an effort to learn how extensive were the importations. Many witnesses testified that East St. Louis industrial agents had combed the South for negroes.

The commission, however, because of conflicting testimony, was unable to arrive at a definite conclusion, and it adjourned without making specific recommendations.

Rioting began on May 28 last, following a mass meeting at which Mayor Mollman announced he would do everything possible to prevent a further influx of negro laborers.

As the men who attended the mass meeting left the hall, reports of two white men being held up by negroes were circulated and mob spirit embroiled.

Rioting continued for four days during which time half a dozen white men and about 30 negroes were injured. Troops summoned to quell the mob did not arrive until the second day of the rioting.

Trouble between whites and negroes was threatened last Saturday night, when several minor individual clashes were reported.

The immediate cause of last night's outbreak was the fatal shooting Sunday evening of Detective Sergeant Samuel Coppedge of the Police Department.

Coppedge and several other officers were dispatched from police headquarters about midnight, when it was reported a mob of negroes had gathered in the negro section. The tolling of the bell on a negro church was the signal for the blacks to gather.

When Coppedge and his companions reached the negroes he attempted to disperse them. Without warning, according to persons in the automobile with Coppedge, the negroes opened fire upon the car. Coppedge was mortally wounded and several of his companions were injured.

When news of this attack spread yesterday morning, mob feeling was quickly aroused. Small groups of whites at once paraded the streets and were augmented later.

SEEK STATE CENSUS TO END GUN 'TOTING'

War Board Hears Dealers Are Doing Big Business in Firearms.

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
JULY 11, 1917

A census of firearms in Illinois may be undertaken as a sequel to the East St. Louis race riots. The state council of defense yesterday discussed the expediency of taking an inventory of deadly weapons in private possession, particularly in centers into which there has been a migration of negro labor. Samuel Insull, chairman, was asked to investigate the feasibility of such a census.

Informal talk at the meeting was that in some districts second-hand dealers and pawnshops have been doing a large business in firearms. Informal reports were that in several industrial centers "gun toters," whites and blacks, are increasing in numbers, as was the case at East St. Louis. The census proposition that was suggested is to get all data possible from firearms dealers and to make a round-up that will result in the listing of all explosives and firearms now in anybody's possession in the state.

NEGROES' TESTIMONY TAKEN.

In connection with the East St. Louis race riots, John H. Harrison of Danville denounced as an "absolute perversion of the truth" the widely circulated statement that the labor committee of the council made its report on the first riots without putting a single negro on the stand. Mr. Harrison said that nearly twenty negroes were heard from and were examined under oath. Leaders of the negro population of East St. Louis were solicited to come forward with information bearing on any phase of the situation.

The council approved the passage by congress of two bills pending for the formation of a public health reserve of sanitarians who, when called into service, will have the rank and pay of surgeon, assistant surgeon and past surgeon in the regular government medical service.

Next Sunday is the last day for making applications for enrollment in the second series of officers' training camps. While no such order has been issued by the War Department it is generally believed there will be no more such camps and no further opportunity given for civilians to become officers, promotions thereafter being from the ranks.

1,000 ILLINOISANS ELIGIBLE.

"Illinois is entitled to send 1,000 men to the next camp," says a statement sent out by the council.

"While there are already more than enough applications to fill the Illinois quota, a large additional number is desired, as many will fail to pass the physical tests. The occasion is an exceptionally good one for downstate men who have had experience in the National Guard."

Factories, workshops and offices are urged to hang up the sign, "Willful Waste Makes Woeful Want," in a bulletin sent out by the Illinois Manufacturers' Association's war aid committee.

15 TO 25 NEGROES DIE IN RACE RIOT AT EAST ST. LOUIS

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
JULY 3, 1917

One Hundred Others Said to Have Been Fatally Burned, but Rumors Unconfirmed

WHITE MOBS APPLY TORCH TO MANY VICTIMS' HOMES

Tolling of Church Bell at Midnight Last Night Starts Work of Destruction

Special Telegram to Public Ledger

EAST ST. LOUIS Ill. July 2.—From fifteen to twenty-five negroes were shot and killed in race riots here today and tonight. At least fifteen negroes met death tonight as they fled from their homes, which had been set on fire by white mobs. Two white men were killed by stray bullets during the day.

Estimates of the number of negroes who perished in the fires runs as high as 100 but there is nothin gauthentic on which to base this except that hundreds of whites stood around the edges of the burning districts and fired at the victims as they fled. The exact number who perished will not be ascertained until morning, when the ruins are searched.

Military Rule Proclaimed

Military rule was proclaimed at 8 o'clock tonight. At the same time 300 white men were arrested and locked up at police headquarters. Negro sections in various parts of the city were on fire at midnight and the flames reach the very edge of the business district.

Small boys carried revolvers and shot at the negroes. There were 200 militiamen on duty in the zone affected by the fire, but despite fixed bayonets they were unable to handle the mob. Every hospital on the east side is filled with victims who are so severely injured that many may die. The "bull ring" at police headquarters is packed with victims, badly beaten and shot.

One section of the mob gathered in a lone negro on Fourth street, near Broadway and the railroad. A rope was thrown around his neck and he was hoisted up a telephone pole. Then the rope broke, much to the amusement of the mob. Men and women shouted gleefully as the body fell into the gutter, while half a dozen men then riddled his body with bullets.

Young Girls Attack Colored Woman

Seized with the mob spirit, two young white girls climbed on a car at Broadway and Main street about 4 p. m. and dragged a colored woman from her seat. As they pulled and dragged the struggling victim through the door of the car to the street there was a cheer from men standing on the sidewalk. As the colored woman attempted to break from her assailants one of the girls, for they were only about seventeen years old, pulled off her shoe and started to beat the victim over the head. The victim flinched under the blows and was bleeding profusely when rescued by militiamen.

The girls were not arrested and walked away from the scene. There were blood stains on their clothes and as they passed their friends they told about the part they played in the riot.

The police and six regiments of Illinois militiamen, who arrived early today, have been powerless to repress the murderous tendencies of armed throngs of whites. Whenever they ventured a protest against mob violence they were pounced upon and disarmed, amid choruses of jeers and hoots. Eight more companies of militiamen have been ordered to the city by Governor Lowden and were expected to arrive during the night.

Tolling Church Bell Starts Rioting

The rioting started soon after midnight last night when a mob of several hundred negroes, summoned by the tolling of the church bell in one of the negro districts, assembled in the streets. The police were advised of the move, and an auto load of the best men sent to the scene. Their presence was the signal for a fusillade of shots, which killed Detective Sergeant Samuel Coppedge. Detective Frank Wodley suffered wound from which it is feared he will die. Patrolman Earl Hobbs and Harry Walker were less seriously wounded, and may recover. The driver of the car, whto was uninjured, succeeded in making his way at top speed through the mob and reached a hospital with his load of dead and dying policemen. Gus Masserang was shot in the leg while watching the affair.

All through the early morning hours policemen with riot guns succeeded in holding down the white men and dispersing the negroes to their homes. After daylight, however, when the news of the affair had spread to all parts of the town, white men abandoned their occupation for the day. Then several mobs, composed of thousands each, with large percentages of women among them, surged through the streets, wrecking business property belonging to negroes and administering beatings with bricks and clubs to each victim who could be captured. Many of the men who had been beaten afterwards were shot and dangerously wounded by the crowds.

William Keyser, fifty years old, a white hardware merchant, was killed by a stray bullet when the crowds pursued two negroes and shot as the fugitives passed him. Three negroes, whose names cannot be obtained, were shot within fifteen minutes of one another at State street and Collinsville avenue, soon after 1 o'clock. Great throngs assembled at this corner and stopped all interurban cars passing, dragging therefrom every negro and either severely beating and shooting the men or killing them.

Hatpins Used on Victims by Women

Women and girls in the crowd dragged negresses through the streets, pummeling them and stabbing them with hatpins until they managed to break away and flee beyond the city limits. During all this time the militiamen were making only ineffectual efforts to stem the anger of the mob and in several instances their guns were taken away from them.

Pawnshops and hardware stores were raided by the mob in several instances and stripped of their firearms and cartridges. All saloons have been closed and stores of all kinds were closed at 5 o'clock. Street car service was suspended at 7 o'clock by order of the Mayor.

During the day alone the police arrested approximately fifty negroes, who were held at the police station until a sufficient force could be assembled to transfer them safely across the Mississippi to St. Louis. Only about three white men were arrested, one of these for haranguing a crowd on the negro question.

The police stationed heavy guards at both ends of the bridge spanning the Mississippi. All negroes crossing in either direction were searched for firearms. No attempt was made to disarm whites.

NEW RIOT PERIL AT EAST ST. LOUIS

CHICAGO ILL. TRIBUNE
JUNE 13, 1917

St. Louis, Mo., June 11.—[illegible.]—Renewal of the recent race riots in East St. Louis, in which a number of Negroes were shot and several whites seriously injured, came tonight when, alleging that he had insulted a white woman, a crowd of whites on a Collinsville car took Nelson Cooper, Negro, 66, from the car and beat him into insensibility.

Later reports of the Negro's action say he had refused to give his seat to a white woman at the demand of other passengers.

When the car was stopped and the Negro thrown off a crowd collected and demanded the man's life. He was rushed into a fire station and saved from the mob, later being taken to a hospital, where he is in a serious condition.

About midnight crowds of Negroes were collecting on the streets and whites also were gathering. The police have taken precautions, but fear the possibility of renewed rioting.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis.

BLAMES GOMPERS FOR RACE RIOTS

Editor Trotter Makes Charge at Meeting Which Declares Organized Labor Enemy of Democracy.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, was charged with the responsibility for the East St. Louis race riots by William Munroe Trotter at a mass meeting of protest in the Twelfth Baptist Church yesterday, held under the auspices of the committee to aid colored people migrating from the South

The charge was made after Mr. Trotter, editor of the Guardian, had read the telegram which he, as a member of the Equal Rights League, had sent to Gompers, and the answer from Gompers' secretary contained no word of condemnation for the riot—this was greeted with jeers.

A resolution unanimously adopted declares that organized labor is at present the greatest enemy of democracy because of its attitude "in barring colored workers from skilled and other work, while its president, Samuel Gompers, boldly justifies the wholesale slaughter of American citizens of color who secure employment by which to live."

The second paragraph marks President Wilson "as the greatest ally of American color prejudice and injustice, under whose administration every sort of governmental stigma and discrimination has been put upon citizens of African extraction."

The rioting in St. Louis was characterized as the "crime of all crimes, and the outrage of all outrages." Yet throughout the meeting the speaking was surprisingly temperate. Wholesale condemnation of the rioters was pronounced, but no threats of retaliation were made.

Reads Details

Mr. Trotter read details from St. Louis papers to show the cold-bloodedness of the rioters. One incident concerned the taking of a Negro into an alleyway, under promise of protection.

"That colored man went into the alley with a white man whom he supposed was trying to befriend him," said Mr. Trotter. "When they were in the alley the colored man was shot in cold blood. Could anything be more brutal or hideous than that?

"Despite the great odds against them our people were not afraid. The mob did not visit the sections where our people had retained their arms. They confined themselves to the places where the Negroes were unarmed. They picked out individual Negroes and murdered them.

"These stories I have read were written by white reporters on St. Louis papers, and they speak in several places of the cowardice of the mob.

"When I heard about the rioting I wired to Samuel Gompers asking him to express himself on the matter. Have we heard from him at all? No. A telegram was sent to Gompers' secretary by labor leaders in St. Louis. The secretary sent that telegram to us, telling us that Mr. Gompers was out of town, but that the telegram would have to be our answer.

"We got that much of an answer from Gompers, who is responsible for the rioting, and who has not referred to it since, except when Roosevelt told him the truth about it. We haven't got that much from President Wilson, but we will smoke him out of his hole yet."

Praises Newspapers

Mr. Trotter praised the Boston newspapers, with an exception, for their fair play. He bitterly criticized the Transcript. All the speakers praised The Journal for its editorials on the riot.

The Rev. M. A. N. Shaw, pastor of the church, urged the audience to tell "your neighbors and your neighbors' neighbors to buy five copies of The Journal every morning and read it through. Patronize the advertising in it, and tell your friends about it."

"Fellow citizens," said the Rev. Mr. Shaw, "it is hard for me to speak to you at all about the race riots. I feel abnormally exercised over the situation. It would have been a disgrace to Russia, the Sultan of Turkey would have blushed. There has been no such disgrace since the world began. The United States is the most disgraced nation that meets the face of the sun.

"There was no religious fanaticism for the murderers to hide behind, as do the Turks, nor were our people killed because of any crime. Their only crime was a desire to work and earn a living by the sweat of their brow. Has the Anglo-Saxon race lost all sense of shame?"

Anglo-Saxons Done

The speaker then expressed the opinion that the Anglo-Saxon race has run its course, and bitterly condemned England. He said that the invasion of Belgium was part payment for the mutilation of Negroes in the Congo region.

England's history for 1500 years, he declared, is a history of rapine and plunder. "They sway the scepter over one-fifth of the world. Did they gain possession of the territory in Africa by honesty? No, they made the Africans drunk with rum, and took possession."

He asserted the Negro race doubled its population every 20 years, to 80 years for the whites.

"We are told to go fight for this country, and we know that conscription has gone through," he continued. "What assurance have we that while we are off fighting our babies will not be burned their homes and our wives and daughters outraged by rioters?

"In this country we have a form of democracy. We have manhood suffrage, but for all that we are merely the form and not the substance of a democracy."

In decided contrast was the address of the Rev. B. M. Swain, who urged all who could to enlist. He also urged the committee who are aiding colored people coming from the South to be careful, saying that "some such riot may happen here."

"I am an American," he said. "First, last and all the time. I have two boys both under 21, in the service now. One of them is in the army and the other in the navy. I wouldn't let them go fight the Kaiser unless I was sure that God was against the Kaiser and not with him. The Kaiser is crazy. I think he came from hell, and I want my two boys to help whip hell out of him.

"The colored people have always been willing to fight. We have fought and received less pay than the whites, but we got into it. Get into it now, if you can."

He stressed the Roosevelt-Gompers argument, saying, "What Roosevelt said is good enough for me."

"And good enough for us, too," echoed the crowd. Roosevelt's name was cheered for several minutes.

The meeting declared false the report that the cause of the East St. Louis outbreak was a band of colored men marching to attack the white people, who began by killing a policeman. This band assembled to protect a colored settlement from an automobile load of white men who were shooting into colored homes, mistaking the auto load of detectives in plain clothes for the marauders, who were a prearranged decoy to excuse the mob, he explained.

ROCHESTER N. Y. HERALD
JULY 9, 1917

The East St. Louis Riots.

Shocking as is the affair at East St. Louis, it is much more logical to explain the race riot than to simply denounce it. The migration of the black men from the South to the North during the past months has been an economic movement. Because the war has put a stop to immigration from Southern Europe, common labor has been scarce in the North. Lured by the prospects of better wages and better living conditions than they had enjoyed, the negroes flocked to the industrial centers of the country, most of which are located in the North. Circulars from employment agencies and propaganda by leaders of their own race may have had something to do with the movement, but these were only contributory causes. The colored people came, as a whole, because labor remuneration was greater above than it was below the Mason and Dixon line.

In no cities to which the colored families came were they received with any degree of cordiality. Union labor feared that they would be used to depress wages; white people objected to them as neighbors. The industries of the land, hungry for common labor, soon absorbed these new workers, but the problem of housing them caused many a flareup in neighborhoods that objected to the encroachments of the black belts. In most cities patience and tolerance and a recognition of the industrial needs were able to solve the problem without serious clashes, at least, temporarily.

But in no other city did the matter present itself as it did in East St. Louis. The sudden influx of a different race was more quickly noted there than it was in some of the larger centers of population. Labor organizations sounded the alarm. Men were afraid they would lose their jobs; their wives shared the fear. Thus were the flames of antagonism fanned. We must also remember that the people of East St. Louis, because of the geographical location of the city, are influenced by Southern thought and are more in sympathy with the Southern viewpoint on the race question than are the people of cities farther north. Violence was, therefore, inevitable when the rumor spread that East St. Louis was to be made a negro city.

While we cannot excuse the actions of the people of East St. Louis we can, at least, strive to understand them. The race question has plumped itself on the people of the North. It is no longer a theoretical one with us. We have to meet it as it actually exists. But the solution does not lie wholly with white people, and white legislators. The black men must help. Anyone who will read their papers will see how bitterly they resent what seems to them social inequality, which, in fact, is merely race selection. Help over a sociological difficulty the black leaders do not seem disposed to extend. Removed from the restraint which the South imposes on them they are often inclined to force themselves in the North, where they know they are not wanted, and their leaders urge them on. While the participants in mob violence at East St. Louis should be severely punished, we know, by experience in the other cities, that the blame is not all on one side.

HOUSTON TEXAS NEWS
JULY 9, 1917

A RACE WAR FOUGHT WITH THE FURY OF SAVAGES.

The press dispatches speak of the East St. Louis affair as a race riot. But to characterize that carnival of incendiarism and murder as a riot is not only to minimize the extent of it absurdly, but to obscure the essential nature of it. A riot, whether racial or other, is of more spontaneous origin and of lesser duration. It is the product largely of excitement that subsides and passes with the venting of it. This East St. Louis orgy was in reality a race war, aggravated by industrial enmities. It had long been half-consciously meditated. The outbreak seems to have been occasioned by the action of a body of negroes in firing on a body of policemen, who, in civilian dress, were mistaken for a mob bent on mischief. But that incident was but the provocation needed to reawaken the racial and industrial animosities which broke out last May and resulted in the killing of several negroes. Those animosities seem to have been engendered by the opposition of white laborers to the importation of negroes for work in factories and mills of that city. They were not brought in to supplant white laborers. There was more work than white labor to perform it. Nevertheless their coming was resented, being regarded as an industrial menace to the white laborers. This seems to have been the initial cause of a series of events which culminated in Monday's saturnalia of murder.

The press reports of the affair are censurably vague, but they nevertheless leave one little chance to escape the opinion that the sanguinary character of the affair was made possible by the treacherous refusal of the authorities to discharge their duty vigorously. Even the militia seem to have had little heart for the task put upon them. One can not avoid the suspicion, from reading the reports, that they were more disposed to indulge the murderous mobs than to suppress

them. Called on to protect the lives of the negroes, they seem tacitly to have given license to the white men who were engaged in destroying them. And, from this, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the public sentiment of the community sympathized, if not with the murderous work, at least with the cause in behalf of which that work was done. If this is so, the affair betrays a condition of racial hostility more profound and rancorous than any which exists in the South. For there is a spirit of retaliation in most of the crimes which are committed against the negroes in the South. Southern mobs are usually moved to fury and murder by the commission of crimes by negroes. This does not, of course, excuse those crimes, nor can it be wrought into an argument to show that the South has been just in its treatment of the negroes. The exodus of negroes from the South, of which this East St. Louis affair is an incidental consequence, is occasioned by a sense of grievance on the part of the negroes, a sense of grievance, which, it must be admitted by men of candid minds, is not without warrant. But if the South has not been just to the negro, and if it has been frequently guilty of atrocious crimes against him, its crimes and fury have not been animated by the hatred of the negroes as a race that is betrayed unmistakably at East St. Louis.

This East St. Louis affair is without counterpart in the North or in any part of the country. It is, in a sense, an isolated phenomenon. But in other parts of the North, in which negroes have gone in large numbers, resentment has been manifested no less unmistakably, though happily less lawlessly and less savagely. The advent of negroes in numbers large enough to be noticeable is regarded as an industrial intrusion by white laborers, who look upon them, if not as competitors of the moment—which they are not because of the excess of work over labor to perform it—as at least potential competitors of the future when the demand for labor shall shrink to something like normal proportions. The instinctive racial prejudice operates as an excitement to revenge a coming which industrial motives picture as an intrusion, and even an invasion. These circumstances of the matter make it plain that if the negro is to establish an industrial place for himself in the North, his progress must be so slow as to make it hardly perceptible, or, otherwise, he must reconcile himself to the necessity of having to fight, fight in the physical and bloody sense, for every success he may win.

The true and fundamental solution of this grave problem lies as a matter of duty and policy with the South. The South is the negro's natural habitat, and the South has an economic need of him. The interest of the South and of the negro are complementary in the truest sense. A policy of justice is likewise the policy of expedience. The negro labor, which the South indispensably needs for its own economic well-being, can be retained if the South will, in its treatment of the negro, conform its practices to the chivalrous precepts with which it decorates itself. When the negro goes North, he is moved more by the repulsion of the conditions that beset him in the South than by the attraction of those that invite him to the North. His natural preference is to live in the South, but that preference is not so strong that it can not be nullified by the injustices which are done him too frequently in the South. The negroes of the South are not seeking social equality. They do, however, crave a larger opportunity for educational, economic and social progress than they enjoy, and it is the denial of this which makes so many of them yield to the lure of the North. The South has only to reform its own habits of conduct toward the negro to keep him contented, and, by doing that, preclude a repetition of the exhibition of savagery which the country has been called on to witness at East St. Louis.

CITY SOCIALISTS SCORE GOMPERS' DEFENCE OF RIOTS

Federation Head Denounced in Discussion of Investigation Resolution.

[illegible]
JULY 8, 1917

MORRIS HILLQUIT NAMED TO RUN FOR MAYOR.

Samuel Gompers' explanation of the race riot in East St. Louis was denounced this afternoon from the platform of the Socialist party city convention, at Labor Temple, No. 243 East Eighty-fourth street, in the course of the adopting of a resolution calling upon President Wilson to investigate. William M. Feigenbaum, of the resolutions committee, opposed a motion to send the resolution back to the committee for redrafting so as to trace the economic cause of the race riot in which many negroes were killed. The resolution denounced the race riot as "an orgy of murder" and Mr. Feigenbaum declared that Mr. Gompers' attempt to make it seem "excusable because of economic causes" was to be repudiated and denounced in no uncertain terms. He said that Socialists, even recognizing the economic cause of importing cheap labor other than white, would never excuse or participate in attacks on negroes, Japanese or Chinese.

The convention completed adopting its platform to-day and adopted the majority of the resolutions before taking a recess for luncheon, preceding the nomination of candidates for Mayor, Controller and president of the Board of Aldermen at the late afternoon meeting. For the head of the ticket Morris Hillquit has been endorsed by the New York and Bronx counties delegations, while Queens county instructed for Joshua Wanhope. Frank A. Sieverman presided at to-day's session.

Resolutions were adopted requesting the National Executive Committee to ask the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates to send delegates here, inasmuch as American Socialist delegates could not leave.

A resolution calling for a national referendum vote for delegates to next winter's peace conference was adopted. Resolutions calling for Representative London to introduce a repeal of the selective draft and pledging the repeal of the State military census were adopted.

2 NEW RACE RIOT ARRESTS; MILITARY INQUIRY IS BEGUN

Mayor Mollman of East St. Louis Is First Witness Heard by the Body.

[illegible] ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 16, 1917

Two more white men were arrested today on mittimuses issued by the Coroner's jury, charged with murder in the East St. Louis riots. They are Herbert Woods, 509 South Fourth street, and John Dow, an ice wagon driver.

Woods, according to testimony at the inquest, was the leader of the mob and had hold of a rope by which a negro was being dragged through the street when arrested.

Dow, according to the testimony, had a hand in the killing of two negroes who were taken from street cars at Collinsville and Illinois avenues.

The military board of inquiry appointed by Gov. Lowden of Illinois to investigate the riots convened at 11 o'clock this morning in the City Courtroom of the East St. Louis city hall and at once began questioning Mayor Mollman, the first witness.

The hearing was not open to the public, as it had been expected it would be. The hearing is in charge of Brigadier-General Henry P. Hill. Other members of the board present are Col. M. J. Foreman, Col. Taylor E. Brown, Maj. Edward B. Tollman and Brigadier-General James E. Stewart, all of Chicago.

Two other members of the board Col. William M. McChesney, Judge Advocate, of Chicago, and Maj. Richard Abbot of Petersburg had not arrived when the session began.

It was announced that the board would inquire not only into the conduct of the militia and the police, but also would investigate the activity of citizens and rioters, and go into the conditions which led up to the trouble.

The officers who arrived today made a tour of inspection of the camps in the city, accompanied by Gen. Hill and Col. E. P. Clayton.

Grand Jury Inquiry Into Race Riots Begun at Belleville.

Further steps in the investigation of the atrocities of the recent East St. Louis race riots, were taken by the authorities of St. Clair County, this morning in the Circuit Court of Belleville. The grand jury was instructed by Judge Crow, as to how the work should proceed. In his address, lasting thirty minutes, the Judge said:

"Gentlemen, no greater evil has ever existed in this State and we shall not rest until all offenders are brought to justice. The eyes of the whole State are on this examining body and we will not have it said that the civil authorities of this county shirked in their duty.

"Murder, arson and riot must be suppressed. No whitewashing will be done by this jury. There is no place on the jury for a man who resorts to such practice. All offenders must be tried impartially and the standing of a man in the community will have no effect on the verdict. A fair, fearless and unbiased verdict is expected and demanded.

The Judge further stated that "people who slay indiscriminately are guilty of murder and except in such cases where it is conclusively proven that the murder was committed in self-defense, offenders will be punished as their crimes deserve."

He further outlined the local meaning of murder, riot, arson and other crimes committed during the riots and before concluding his instructions stated that "the militiamen who fired on the negroes in cold blood, instead of attending to their duties, will be punished according to the nature of their transgression."

The first witnesses to be called by the grand jury were four militiamen, who were questioned most of the morning. Attorney-General Edward Brundage and his assistants are conducting the investigations, assisted by State's Attorney Schaumleffel.

THE CAUSE OF RACE RIOTS.

ST JOSEPH MO PRESS
JULY 12, 1917

The race riot in East St. Louis is being investigated. A great deal is being written regarding this disgraceful affair. The negro's view of the situation is that he is a free American, entitled under the constitution and its amendments to the same rights as any other American of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." These rights, he declares, have been infringed. He has fled from a hostile Dixie to a North which treats him no better than Dixie treated him.

Apparently, however, it takes more than a constitution to eliminate racial prejudices. What happened in East St. Louis is precisely what happened in Vancouver some years ago, in protest against Oriental immigration. The underlying racial hostility, the feeling that whites were being crowded out by men of another color, the rather belligerent attitude of both sides, in each case precipitated a clash. It is a significant circumstance, perhaps, that in both cases it was claimed by the whites that the dark-skinned peoples were being systematically imported to influence the labor situation.

This last circumstance may have as much to do with the trouble as mere race prejudice. Organized labor is keen to protect its rights, as it sees them. But a sudden large influx of population of a different race and color is apt under the most favorable circumstances to result in trouble.

When the negro comes gradually, individually, white people usually adjust themselves. Gradual changes are easy. But sudden, wholesale changes in the population of any community are apt to upset things, as they did in East St. Louis. Racial antagonism is a serious problem that demands careful handling everywhere. But that does not absolve the people of East St. Louis, nor the city, county or state officials. It is idle to say that bad negroes or bad whites, trade unionists or nonunionists, were responsible for these disturbances. The business of government, city, county or state, is to maintain order. If it fails to do that it fails in its principal function. For months the city of East St. Louis, the county of St. Clair and the state of Illinois by their conduct prepared the way for the outbreak, and rendered themselves impotent in its presence.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

RACE MOBS KILL 15 TO 75 NEGROES; BURN $3,000,000 EAST ST. LOUIS PROPERTY

NYC HOW
JULY 3, 1917

States Attorney Estimates the Number of Dead May Reach 250.

BLACKS FLEE STATE

Martial Law Declared and 300 Persons Are Arrested by Troops.

FLAMES ARE UNCHECKED

Importation of Workers From South Is Cause—Women Join Rioters.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 2.—From 15 to 75 negroes were shot and killed here to-night as they fled from their burning homes, which had been set on fire by white mobs. The exact number which perished in the burning houses is unknown and cannot be ascertained until morning when the ruins are searched. Two white men also are among the slain.

State's Attorney Schaumloeffel of St Clair county drove through the riot swept district to-night with Police Inspector Walsh of St. Louis, Mo. The State's Attorney estimated that the dead negroes would number 250. All estimates, however, are conjectural.

Military rule was proclaimed at 8 o'clock to-night and at the same time 300 white men were arrested and locked up at police headquarters. Negro quarters in various parts of the city are on fire and the flames reached the very edge of the business district.

Estimates of the number of negroes who perished in the fire ran high, but there was nothing authentic on which to base estimates except that hundreds of whites stood around the edges of the burning districts and fired at the negroes as they fled from their homes.

The property loss was estimated by City Attorney Fekete at $3,000,000. Forty injured negroes and six injured white men were in one hospital and almost an equal number in another.

Vast clouds of smoke rolled across the sky from the burning district, flames made some of the downtown streets as light as day, and now and then a yelling mob rushed down a street in pursuit of a negro or in search of new excitement. National Guardsmen, loaded in automobile trucks, dashed after the rioters.

Fires Raging in Four Sections.

At 11 P. M. another fire had broken out in the extreme northern portion of the city, where there is a negro section, and a smaller mob was searching for negroes. This brought the burning sections up to four, lighting the entire city with their glare.

Col. Tripp, assistant Adjutant-General, said shortly before midnight that the rioting crowds had for the most part dispersed.

Nearly 500 negro men, women and children are quartered in the City Hall and the police station. At frequent intervals all evening and until late to-night trucks brought negro refugees from burning sections to augment the cowering groups at these refugee buildings, where a strong guard of troops is stationed.

Terror spread among the black men and women at 10:30 P. M., when all the lights in both buildings suddenly went out, due to the destruction of electric wires in the downtown district.

When a report came to military authorities that negro inhabitants at Brooklyn, Ill., a city entirely populated by negroes, were moving on East St. Louis, a truck full of guardsmen was sent to the "black" bridge to meet any attack that might be attempted.

Snipers Fired From Windows.

At the same time another truckload of soldiers was rushed to the corner near the post office, where negroes barricaded in upstairs quarters had been firing at soldiers standing guard in the street below.

The worst property damage was done along the tracks of the Southern Railroad Company, where the Southern Warehouse and between 100 and 150 cars, many of them loaded with merchandise, were consumed by flames. The damage here was estimated at between $300,000 and $500,000.

The Broadway Theatre, valued at $100,000, was entirely destroyed, and at 11 P. M. the flames were moving steadily along the tracks, almost unhindered by the feeble efforts of the firemen, which were directed toward preventing the blaze from spreading to more important buildings.

Col. Tripp stated at 11:30 P. M. to-night that twenty-three companies of State troops would be in the city before midnight, all except three companies of which were then on guard. The combined strength of the troops to combat trouble to-morrow, he said, would be several thousand.

Travel Over Bridges Stopped.

Stringent regulations will be put into effect to curb crowds that may gather. All travel across the bridges leading from St. Louis to this city was stopped late to-night.

Col. Tripp early in the evening figured in the rescue of a negro who was being dragged down Broadway by a rope which was attached to his neck. The automobile bearing the Colonel and City Attorney Fekete appeared when a mob was in the act of stringing the negro to a telephone pole. Col. Tripp leaped from the automobile and persuaded the white attackers to desist from their plan to kill the man.

City Attorney Fekete later in the night saved the life of another young negro who was running from a crowd, which had fired a number of shots at him while the negro was plainly visible in the glare of burning buildings. Fekete placed the negro in his automobile, and after arguing for ten minutes with the group of men succeeded in gaining their consent to allow him to take the negro to the City Hall for protection.

The fires started about 6 P. M. and spread rapidly. Soon flames visible for miles were shooting into the sky. Hundreds of negro women, most of them carrying bundles that held their most precious belongings, and leading small children, fled across the bridge to shelter and safety with friends on the Missouri side.

Telephone wires were cut early in the evening. As telegraph and telephone poles caught fire other wires went down.

Outsiders Join Outlawry.

The mobs in East St. Louis were swelled by hundreds of people who early in the evening crossed the river from St. Louis, Mo. This added such a menace to the situation that at 8 o'clock the bridges were closed. This forced hundreds of residents of suburban towns to stay in St. Louis for the night. As soon as street car traffic ended at 7 P. M. crowds walked across the bridge into East St. Louis by the thousands.

The mob got into a lynching mood to-night. One aged negro was strung up on a pole, but was rescued just in time to save his life. Soldiers rescued still another negro who was being dragged through the streets.

After military rule had been proclaimed the soldiers put more vigor into their attempts to quell the mob.

Seventy-five white men attacked a negro in front of a drug store down town and shot him twice, attempted to drag him to a pole, beating him as they pulled him along. The troops charged with fixed bayonets and the mob scattered.

With this show of force the rioters in part quieted down. Troops stood guard at all corners and kept the crowds moving. At 8:30 o'clock fire broke out in the district known as the "Valley." This fire came perilously near to the big railroad yards of East St. Louis. At 9 o'clock four more negroes were shot by snipers. At 10 o'clock it appeared as if the "Valley" district was doomed to destruction. This is the third large area to be burned. The property damage will reach many thousands.

New Version of the Outbreak.

C. W. Wallace, editor of a negro religious publication, gave a new version of the trouble here.

Wallace said he, a negro minister and a negro physician were returning from St. Louis last night when they saw white "joy riders" ride down a block in Market street inhabited by negroes and fire into the houses. The neighborhood was aroused and the negroes armed themselves.

Wallace did not see the negro mob fire on an automobile filled with policemen this morning, but he said a witness told him that the negroes thought when the police automobile stopped that it was the joy riders returning. The shooting began, he was told, before this misunderstanding was removed. In this connection it was mentioned that the officers were in plain clothes.

At 9 o'clock the Mayor of East St. Louis sent for Fire Chief Swingley of St. Louis, Mo., to assist in fighting the flames, which threatened to destroy a large part of the city. A company of the St. Louis Fire Department started to East St. Louis, but was ordered back.

Six additional companies of State troops were rushed from Springfield, Ill., here to-night, making a total of twelve companies detailed here. Adjt.-Gen. Frank S. Dickson left for the scene of the riot to take command.

The rioting is a recrudescence of race troubles that occurred here a month ago following the importation of large numbers of negro laborers from the South. Women and girls, joining with the men, dragged negresses from the street cars in the downtown district.

Mob Disarms Guardsmen.

Troopers themselves were disarmed by the mobs in many instances, and, together with the police, for a time seemed powerless before the rioters.

The disorder, which began when a mob of 200 negroes fired on an automobile load of policemen last night, killing one, reached a climax in broad daylight this forenoon. In this outbreak three negro men and one white man were killed, two white men and two negroes were shot and wounded, and twenty-three others so badly beaten and stoned that they were taken to hospitals.

To-night, with the saloons closed and street car service stopped by order of the authorities, National Guardsmen began escorting truckloads of negroes across the river to Missouri.

Until the white women began to participate, negro women and girls had seemed immune from attack, but when this occurred, negresses, too were terrorized.

Sixteen guardsmen were disarmed by members of the mob, who calmly asked the soldiers to give them the weapons lest the guardsmen "hurt some one in the crowd." Mayor Mollman ordered the saloons closed at noon, and it was hoped that this measure would prevent any serious outbreak to-night. The guardsmen, according to the commander, Major William Klauser, patrolled the streets with loaded rifles, but were under instructions to confine aggressive measures to the bayonet.

Clashes Started Saturday.

The immediate cause of the rioting to-day was the outbreak of negroes late last night, but for several days there had been evidences of bad blood, and on Saturday night several minor clashes between whites and blacks occurred.

The clashes Saturday night apparently alarmed the negro quarter of the city, or at least gave agitators a chance to organize the blacks for fighting. When word was telephoned to ploice headquarters that the ringing of a church bell had called the armed negroes together an automobile loaded with police left for the scene to disperse the crowd. The officers were greeted with a volley. Detective Sergeant Coppedge was killed and three policemen were wounded. One detective, Frank Wodley, now is in the hospital in a critical condition. He was shot in the stomach. The police chauffeur also was wounded. Jay Long, a white man, was wounded in an earlier attack. Thomas Kayser, a hardware merchant, was killed by a stray bullet later in the day.

Police reenforcements early this morning dispersed the mob of negroes, and shortly after 3 A. M., Major Mollman asked Gov. Lowden to send National Guardsmen here to preserve order. Two companies of the Guard arrived about 9:30 A. M. and were assigned to duty in the negro quarter. Up to that hour the streets were quiet. As the morning wore on crowds began to congregate and, encouraged by the absence of troops from the downtown section, agitators began their work of inflaming the whites.

How Outbreak Was Renewed.

The first trouble occurred when a negro appeared at Broadway and Collinsville avenue, one of the busiest corners in the city and an important street car transfer point. A white man struck the negro in the face and others in the crowd knocked him down and kicked him. As he lay in the street a white man coolly approached and fired at him five times. Two of the shots took effect, one in the arm and one in the leg. As the crowd, thinking the negro was dead, fell back, he jumped up and ran. The negro said he had no part in previous race troubles.

A little later a white man standing in front of the Illmo Hotel fired at a negro, but missed him and wounded a white man, Louis Haege, 65 years old.

The police arrested the man who fired the shot, but the mob forced the officers to release him. Later a man whom the police say was the one who shot Haege was found haranguing a street crowd and inciting it to violence.

White Women Join in Attack.

At 1:30 P. M. the rioting grew more serious. A car was stopped, the trolley pulled from the wire, and a mob of white men invaded the car looking for negroes. One was taken off, cruelly beaten and kicked and then shot. He died in an ambulance. While this disturbance was raging another car appeared. As the car was halted white women and white girls boarded it, and seizing shrieking negro women dragged them into the streets, where they were beaten and kicked.

A few minutes later as a crowd was attacking negroes one black was shot in the head. The crowd cheered as a policeman put him in an ambulance. National Guardsmen witnessed this scene but did nothing to disperse the mob. One negro man, who was taken from the car which women rioters first invaded, was beaten in the head with a heavy

club and died in an ambulance. Another negro was shot and killed as he was waiting for a train to take him out of town.

About 5 P. M. a mob raided a pawnshop and carried away rifles and revolvers

COLUMBIA S. C. STATE
JULY 4, 1917

Will the North Protect the Negro?

The frightful race rioting in East St. Louis, Ill., sets a test case for the people of the North. It is for them to decide now whether or not they will allow negro workingmen of the South to come into the Northern States and enjoy equality with white men the right to work and to live.

For many years Northern cities on the other side of the Ohio and of the Mason and Dixon line have been the scenes of occasional lynchings and other forms of race conflict. These Northern people, or the mass of them, have a less tolerant feeling for the negroes than the Southern people have and they have besides an intense and highly inflamed prejudice against the competition of negro labor. These truths The State has frequently commented upon and the considerable migration from the Gulf States Northward is making the antagonisms sharper than they have ever been before. It is for the Northern people to answer now, and without evasion, whether or not the laws for the protection of the lives and the properties of negroes in Northern territory shall be enforced. If they sincerely purpose that the Southern negroes shall have a fair chance within Northern territory the white rioters as well as the negro offenders in East St. Louis will be arrested, tried and convicted when they are guilty. It is already plain that the white lawbreakers in East St. Louis are many times as numerous as the negro miscreants are and the people of the whole country may await with interest the answer to the question whether or not white oppressors of negroes shall be sent to jail by Illinois juries.

By reason of the movement of the negroes Northward and the wide discussion that it has caused the riots have taken on a nationwide significance. If there be one law in East St. Louis for black ruffians and another for white, if the negroes shall be punished and the whites go scot free, there will be similar outbreaks in other towns and they will multiply in number as the negro migration continues and enlarges. The white people of Illinois can not neglect to apprehend and punish impartially and severely all the rioters without saying to the Southern negroes that however they have been set free in the South, they shall not be freemen in the Northern white man's country.

If they do fail to protect these black immigrants, they will thereby incite and encourage that element of the Southern white population that is disposed to persecute the negroes and deny them the rights guaranteed them by the law to persist in the persecutions and denials, even though it end in reducing many negroes to a condition worse than the slavery from which they were delivered in 1865. That slavery had legal sanction and the laws that regulated it were fairly well enforced by Southern white men.

It is for the North to say now whether or not the laws of the Republic, and its constitution, shall be respected when the whites and the negroes are arrayed against one another. The question is one of rare simplicity. There is no issue of social equality. May the negro live and work in the North? That, and that only, is to be determined. There was never a better opportunity to determine it than now.

SPRINGFIELD MASS. REPUBLICAN
JULY 5, 1917

Making Democracy Safe

A certain reluctance on the part of the press to discuss the depressing and abominable race riots in East St Louis is not a cause for surprise. Just as America was speeding up its noble and ideal effort to promote the world drift toward democracy, out walked the national skeleton from its closet and paraded before all the world the special weakness that our democracy has developed.

It is not simply our premier race problem—"the color line"—that we have in mind, although the riots in East St Louis took the final form of warfare between whites and blacks. Much might be said in that connection. It was a labor disturbance, one reads, due to the large migration of southern Negroes into that part of Illinois during the past year; and then came the use of Negroes as strike breakers. Yet why have the Negroes been going North in such large numbers? High wages in northern industries have not been the only stimulus to the exodus. Maj Moton, head of the Tuskegee institute, says in a recent communication: "I gather from reading Negro newspapers 'and from other sources, that in spite 'of the notable decrease in the number of victims of mob violence for 'the past six months, the horrors con'nected with the recent burning at the 'stake near Memphis has increased 'among Negroes the fear of lynchings 'and accelerated their migration to the North."

It is unpleasant to be reminded of such abysmal deeds of American savagery as the burning alive of human beings at the stake,—for they make one shudder for his country,—but we cannot escape their consequences, however much we may try to forget them and however persistently and complacently we may look the other way.

But if there were not a single black man in this hemisphere, American democracy would still embarrass us occasionally by parading its weakness before the exemplars of civilization in both the Occident and the Orient. Democracy is weak when it is lawless and unrestrained. America is often lawless and unrestrained, making of authority and the established safeguards of social order a hideous mockery. Mr Roos has well said that the ultimate strength of democracy must consist in its capacity for organized self-control. But at East St Louis the law and the officers of the law were negligible when the mob spirit kindled in the streets. The police did nothing to quell the outbreak in its beginning. The few armed militiamen, even, allowed mob leaders to take away their rifles; they were reported to have "grinned" when remonstrated with by indignant citizens, who stood for the stern maintenance of order and the protection of life and property. The honorable sheriff of the county has not yet been heard from. The governor of Illinois needed several days in which to recognize officially the anarchy in East St Louis. When he did act, it was too late, of course, and now the death list bespatters in its blood red hues the history of the great state of Illinois. A United States judge, last fall, was told by the mayor and the police commissioners of East St Louis that it was not customary to enforce the laws; the admission did not come easy, but the judge succeeded in extracting the truth which is now known to the world.

But the seamy side of our democracy has been recently exposed in a community very different from East St Louis. Boston was founded in 1630. The Boston riots on Sunday last were so disgraceful that the governor of Massachusetts publicly condemned those who brought them on, by interfering with a socialist-pacifist parade, and especially the men in the uniform of the army and navy of the United States. Yet on the night of the Boston riots the pastor of the old Park-street church said in his pulpit, according to the Transcript, that "the 'assistant janitor of the church lighted 'the fire which burned the socialist 'banners and literature, and I am 'tempted to promote him to be assist'ant pastor." The Transcript itself said editorially of the riots: "It would 'be wrong to approve; it would be 'impossible to condemn. . . . The 'resulting disturbance has cleared the 'air, and in that point one can take 'satisfaction." This easy tolerance of the mob spirit by the conservative pulpit and press of Boston is a startling reflection of the passion of the times.

Tocqueville was a sympathetic critic of the United States, but he was not wholly blind to our national weakness. Writing some 80 years ago he said: "The difficulty which a democracy has in conquering the passions and in subduing the exigencies 'of the moment . . . is conspicuous in the most trivial occurrences 'in the United States." That democracy in America has strengthened its fiber since Tocqueville studied our institutions and people must be believed, for the tremendous experience in self-government the nation has had must count heavily in favor of the republic, now the oldest organized democracy on earth. But here is our besetting sin to be seen as the extreme antithesis of the hard, brutal militarist autocracy which has set the nations to blood-letting on a world-wide scale, yet which, in its Prussian shape and glitter, unbendingly keeps order within the state and makes absolutely safe the property and the lives of its inhabitants in their homes.

Americans need to safeguard their ideals by applying occasionally the acid test of reality to their professions of faith. We shall make the world safe for democracy; yet let us not neglect in the process to make democracy safe for the world.

EAST ST. LOUIS.

A Negro's Protest Against the White Man's Appalling Savagery.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* The negroes of this country are filled with righteous indignation over the recent tragedy in East St. Louis, in which white men, women and children participated in the hope of putting the fear of the "unconquered and unconquerable Caucasian" into the hearts of the black people. This sudden reproduction of the Kishinef massacre in Russia, in a supposedly free and democratic American city, can do no other than give pause to the Europeans who have come to believe that American professions of high ideals in government and American performances do not, as the French say, swear at each other.

Barbarism and savagery have no color or race lines. An American savage is no whit better or worse than a German or Hottentot savage. The pot cannot call the kettle black when both are of the same color. We negroes are beginning to doubt the correctness of the white man's claim to superiority. Our concepts of superiority do not jibe with those of that class of white men who believe, and by their acts try to convince us, that brute force, injustice and might constitute superiority.

Now, Lincoln once said, "We cannot escape history." The lawless white people of America, North and South, cannot escape the ultimate consequences of crimes committed in the name of the American people. What goes up must come down. White men all over this country may as well understand now as at any other time that we negroes cannot be eliminated from the equation by the shotgun, the pyre, the rope, by drastic and arbitrary legislation, by repressive and oppressive measures of any kind or character. We are here not as immigrants or the descendants of immigrants, but as the special invited guests of white men who more than one hundred and fifty years ago called on our forebears in our fatherland and forced them to move to this country. When they landed here they enslaved them and forced them to perform the hard manual labor, tilling the fields, clearing the forests and fighting the Indians in the Colonial wars of this country. It wasn't philanthropy nor altruism that brought us here, but pure greed, selfishness and avarice. The labor of these blacks from Africa and of their descendants in America made the South to blossom as the rose, and Henry W. Grady many years ago in a speech before the Middlesex Club at Boston proudly boasted that the labor of the negroes of Georgia in a given year had produced a billion dollars worth of staples.

These are some of the things we have been doing for the white man in slavery and in freedom. Northern cotton brokers by the hundreds during slavery made their millions speculating in cotton produced by slave labor, and when they became conscience stricken they joined the anti-slavery society and grudgingly gave a few thousands to carry on its work.

Since the close of the war of the Rebellion the white men of the North have given many thousands for negro education, while white men of the South who owe to him most of the great fortunes amassed by them during and since emancipation have given the negro a black eye and the cold shoulder. They have got theirs, and now they tell the North that the negro is "vicious, ignorant and criminal" in his tendencies. They had full charge of our bodies and lives for over a century, but they erected no schools to educate black children, and Southern Legislatures to-day are not making large appropriations for negro education. They ought to, for the negro has been the best friend the Southern white man has ever had. When I was a little over two years old my father was sold into slavery for $900 and the purchase money was used to educate his master's son. I have had to grab what little education I possess wherever I could, but I think that if my father's master had educated him, and other masters had shown a like spirit, there would not now be travail in this "glorious free country," where black men with "no language but a sigh" are seeking the pursuit of happiness, and while doing so are done to death by white men and women who boast that they have a

JOHN E. BRUCE.

NEW YORK, July 11.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

Only Pity and Sorrow.

From the South there will go out only pity and sorrow for the helpless negroes who left their homes here to go up against such treatment as this in their search for better employment. That they were deluded even from the beginning by those who persuaded them to leave the South is only too true, but now to this is added murder on the wholesale. From the bottom of our hearts we are sorry for you, poor children of the South. Perhaps, also, the certain Northern "brothers" of the negro who petitioned President Wilson to act on the lynching of the negro at Memphis will also petition him to act on the carnage in Illinois. Perhaps!—[Nashville Tennessean.

Illinois and the Negro.

The details of the Illinois outrage against the negroes will be read with feelings of deep resentment by the people in the South. The Southern heart, too, will be moved with sympathy for the unhappy victims of Illinois vengeance upon an inoffensive race. The murder of these people and the burning of their homes is without a shadow of justification or excuse, and the State of Illinois stands to-day in the attitude of holding up before the gaze of an astonished world hands dripping with the blood of an innocent and persecuted people. With these dripping hands it has written into the pages of its history the crowning infamy of racial America.—[Charlotte Observer.

A Centre of Frightfulness.

The negroes can never afford to defy white sentiment or to stir up race trouble, because in the end they are bound to get the worst of it, physically, financially, industrially, and every other way. And they are not their true friends who caused them to challenge the stronger element. But their folly and their crimes do not excuse white communities for lowering themselves to a savage level. Such race and labor problems as black immigration is creating must be dealt with in a different way. East St. Louis has not solved even a part of the problem. It has simply advertised its own lack of intelligence and strength, and written itself down as a centre of frightfulness.—[Baltimore Sun.

A City That's Lost Itself.

East St. Louis has disgraced itself. The second city of Illinois must hang its head in abject shame as America's cockpit of unbridled passions unless it can turn itself right side up. Something must be done and done quickly.

If Mayor Mollman and his Council cannot play the part of men and lead the people back to the paths of law and order, then Gov. Lowden must. If Gov. Lowden is helpless and his Federalized militiamen a bunch of weaklings cowering before the fury of a mob, then appeal must be made direct to President Wilson. A nation girding itself for the supreme task of making the world safe for a law-abiding democracy will not tolerate an orgy of lawlessness at its heart in the Middle West.—[St. Louis Republic.

The Negro in the North.

There will be no satisfaction in the South that again it may point an accusing finger at its revilers and traducers. The bloody tragedy of East St. Louis will bring nothing but shame and grievous anger to this part of the country. That negroes have been treated with more intolerance, more injustice, and more cruelty in this Illinois community than they would have been in any Southern State, the country knows.

Their crime, be it remembered, was not that crime of crimes which stirs the Mississippi or Georgia mob to frenzy, but, originally, at any rate, mere economic competition. These East St. Louis negroes had been carried there to work in war industries, and had displaced white labor. —[Richmond Times-Dispatch.

In Lincoln's State!

Between 75 and 250 negroes, men, women, and children, were killed by mobs in Illinois in one day's saturnalia of outlawry, and property valued at between three and four millions of dollars—almost as great as Atlanta's loss in our recent conflagration—was burned, all because of resentment of the colored man's desire to earn his living "in the North!"

Disdainful of law or decency, disregardful of police or military authority, all day long and for half the night the blood-crazed mobs howled and fought and destroyed—employing stones, bludgeons, knives, fire-arms, and the torch! The number of dead negroes as a result of the day's rioting cannot be approximately estimated until a search of the charred ruins can be made.

And this all happened in the home State of Abraham Lincoln, who guaranteed the black man freedom from bondage, and equality before the law!—[Atlanta Constitution.

Illinois and Georgia Compared.

Illinois is the scene of what will probably go down as the most deadly riot between the races ever recorded in this country. Certainly it is greater than any riot that ever occurred between the races in the South. The nearest approach to it in the South was the Atlanta riot, in 1906, when less than twenty persons were killed. There is another and still more striking difference between the Illinois riot and the Georgia riot. That difference lies in the causes of the riots. In Atlanta a series of assaults upon white women by vicious negroes crazed by a vile grade of whiskey and cocaine, led to a series of lynchings. Then the race riots occurred.

But what had the negroes done in the Illinois town? They had left the comparatively peaceful atmosphere of Southern farms and Southern cities to go knocking at Illinois doors to announce their arrival to take the high-wage jobs which they had been told were waiting for them. They were fallen upon by the whites who did not want negro competition. Several persons were killed in the first clash a few days ago. That was will, except under abnormal conditions, in such numbers as now infest the leading communities be ever a disturbing and warred against economic maladjuster of the labor balance, an economic disturbance, his race his greatest and the insurmountable liability to himself. East St. Louis has marked up a bad and distressing episode, but it is not even a marker to what is to follow in those other cities to which the great migrations from the South have been flowing for the last year.—[Macon Telegraph.

The Illinois Incident.

One's first impulse in commenting on the East St. Louis, Ill., riots is to remind certain self-righteous zealots of the Northern press of the opprobrium they have heaped upon the South in somewhat similar though far less aggravated circumstances. But the East St. Louis occurrence is too serious and deplorable a thing for sectional recrimination. For its own part, *The Journal* is not disposed to taunt that unfortunate community with charges of barbarism or admonish our erstwhile bitter critics that "it is a good divine who follows his own instruction." We feel sure that in Illinois, as in Georgia, prevailing sentiment is for law and order and justice; we know that there, as here, a whirl of passion cannot be taken as a fair measure of the broad current of a people's thought and life. To the right-thinking, representative people of that city, we leave the task of setting their house in order. They alone can do it, for they alone know the real elements of their problem. But there is one outstanding fact which for the good of all concerned ought to be accepted as conclusive and acted upon accordingly. And that fact is this: the thickly populated industrial districts of the North are highly unfavorable if not highly dangerous for negroes bred and born to the ways of the South.—[Atlanta Journal.

The True Solution.

The true and fundamental solution of this grave problem lies as a matter of duty and policy with the South. The South is the negro's natural habitat, and the South has an economic need of him. The interest of the South and of the negro are complementary in the truest sense. A policy of justice is likewise the policy of expedience. The negro labor, which the South indispensably needs for its own economic well-being, can be retained if the South will, in its treatment of the negro, conform its practices to the chivalrous precepts with which it decorates itself. When the negro goes North, he is moved more by the repulsion of the conditions that beset him in the South than by the attraction of those that invite him to the North. His natural preference is to live in the South, but that preference is not so strong that it can not be nullified by the injustices which are done him too frequently in the South. The negroes of the South are not seeking social equality. They do, however, crave a larger opportunity for educational, economic and social progress than they enjoy, and it is the denial of this which makes so many of them yield to the lure of the North. The South has only to reform its own habits of conduct toward the negro to keep him contented, and, by doing that, preclude a repetition of the exhibition of savagery which the country has been called on to witness at East St. Louis.—[Galveston Daily News.

East St. Louis Disgrace.

The East St. Louis mob is said to be the result of bad politics, the kind that doesn't care for gambling, prostitution, Sunday violation, low dances, vile shows, or immorality of any kind. There is a politics of that kind, and there is more or less of it in every community, where respectability cowers before low ideas and practices. It got that way over in East St. Louis and the situation infected public authority with complacency and cowardice, and this ended in a mob.—[Ohio State Journal.

Problem Behind Nation's Disgrace.

That these riots should occur in the North, in a Republican State, and that the State of Abraham Lincoln, and at a time when we are sending troops across the seas to make the world safe for democracy, all add to the pathos of the affair. What are we going to do about it? . . . For the negro the situation is peculiarly discouraging. Maltreated in the South, deprived there of all civil and political rights, practically excluded from popular education and from any share in the administration of the courts, he naturally seeks, in the North, more hospitable conditions. And these are what he finds.—[Boston Herald.

Savagery at its Worst.

East St. Louis will take a long time to live down the black disgrace of the last few days' doings. The surviving negroes who left the South so recently to escape intolerable conditions, must indeed feel that the hand of every man is against them. There can be no justification for such an outbreak of mob violence. It is not conducive to the spirit of national complacency to reflect that while our country is engaged in a war to "safeguard democracy" for the world, here at home we have an exhibition of lawlessness typical of savagery at its worst.—[Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph.

Disgrace of East St. Louis.

How easily we relapse into barbarism has been again demonstrated by the East St. Louis mob. Women and girls have joined men in the outrages until we may expect resolutions of protest to come from the Russian Cossacks, to whom we have so recently offered our sympathy and help.

Explanations, of course, are to be found in the recent influx of Southern negroes to jobs in East St. Louis—a part of the movement from South to North that has been taking place all over the country under the influence of the scarcity of labor. But no explanation can absolve a community from the odium of wanton cruelty inflicted on innocent persons.—[Kansas City Star.

An Indelible Disgrace.

It is impossible to write in terms of moderation of the shocking display of savagery and of racial hatred which has occurred at East St. Louis. It is of secondary moment whether the disorders were begun by the "whites" or the "blacks." The sorry fact remains that neither the authorities of Illinois nor of Missouri's chief city were able to cope with an outbreak attended with atrocities comparable only with those of which the Germans were guilty in Belgium. At a moment when the nation is engaged in a great war to sustain the principle of democracy this exhibition of lack of self-control, of utter lawlessness, of incredible barbarity, is a disgrace that is fastened upon the entire country, even though a single community is responsible for it. —[Philadelphia Public Ledger.

America's Shame.

Distressing in itself at any time, but particularly so at this juncture of national affairs, with the United States involved in war with a foreign power, the rioting at East St. Louis is a calamity certain to have the most grave effect. The troubles that culminated last night in an orgy of killing and burning, in the course of which at least twenty negroes were slain, and possibly several

PASTOR EXPRESSES THANKS OF COLORED PEOPLE HERE TO COMMERCIAL TRIBUNE

CINCINNATI COMMERCIAL TRIBUNE

Editor [illegible] Commercial Tribune:

Dear Sir--Having read with much pleasure and profit your editorial of the 5th inst., on "The Colored People in Cincinnati," I take this method of thanking you for the strong defense you make in that article for an oppressed and maligned people. It is not the easiest thing for a white man to champion the cause of the negro and plead for justice for him, for there is the prejudiced white man on the one hand who does not believe that he is worthy of a good word, and on the other hand there is the worthless negro whose conduct is such as to almost discourage the friends of the race. But rest assured that the hearts of an humble people, black tho they be, beat with gratitude for any man who is broad enough and fearless enough to say a good word for them. And when such words as yours come from a man who has the ear of so many people as you, the editor of a leading daily paper in a metropolitan city has, the extent of the negro's gratitude is well nigh inconceivable.

The race riots in East St. Louis, which you refer to as "having brought a stain on the escutcheon of Illinois," are to be deeply deplored by all right thinking people, black and white. But especially do the leaders of the negro race deplore them, not only for the reason that their people are the victims of such lawlessness, but because at this crisis in the nation's history every citizen or class of citizens should be made to feel that this is their country and that they should demonstrate their loyalty and patriotism in a substantial way.

Is the treatment accorded the negro conducive to patriotism and loyalty? Would any other class of this country's citizens fight for this country so ardently as he does if they were accorded the same treatment? But in spite of it all the negro remains loyal to the Stars and Stripes—the only flag he knows—and will give his blood for it in this war as he has ever done in the past. This is not the time for internal strife; our guns should be turned not on each other but on the common foe. It should be the earnest endeavor of every American to make every other American feel that this is his country, and his highest privilege is to fight for its perpetuity. "Let there be no strife between us, for we be brethren."

The negro asks not for favoritism; all that he asks is that he be not discriminated against on account of his color, but that he be given a man's chance. Give him an equal right before the law and open the "door of hope" unto him and he will prove himself worthy to be called an American citizen. It is not true, as has been charged, that he shields the criminals of his race. Assured that they are to be given a fair and impartial trial before the courts and not tried, sentenced and executed without Judge or jury, and he will see to it, as far as is in his power, that every offender is turned over to the authorities. And even if he were inclined to shield such a one he knows full well that the "whole race is held responsible for the acts of a few" and therefore the policy of "safety first" is to expose the guilty or suspected ones.

You are also to be thanked for the gracious words concerning the negroes of Cincinnati. Truly have you said that in a large measure he is a church goer, and as an evidence of that fact he points with pride to the large number of church houses he has built out of his penury for the glory of God and the betterment of his people. Then, there is to be found among his people a large number of conscientious ministers, as well as a large following of God-fearing men and women among the laity who are laboring to make better citizens of those who come under the influence of the churches and seeking to influence the unchurched among them. As an example, your attention is called to the fact that they are laboring strenuously to see that their brother who comes from the South is brought under the influence of the churches and thereby made a "decidedly useful" citizen. A word of encouragement such as you have given will serve to stimulate them along that line. I am sure I voice the sentiments of the [illegible] whole when I say we are sincerely grateful to you for your splendid editorial.

I have the honor to be sincerely and gratefully yours. W. AUGUSTUS JONES,
Pastor of the Union Baptist Church, Richmond and Mound streets.

times that number, began several weeks ago in consequence of the importation of negro laborers from the South. But there had been bad blood between the races in that neighborhood long before and race riots have been of no infrequent occurrence.

It would seem to have been possible for the municipal and State authorities to forestall and prevent this outbreak by a proper display and use of force after the warnings that were given in May. Apparently nothing effective was done.—[Washington Evening Star.

Suppression of Riots.

The national guard is not a fit agency for dealing either with strike rioting or outbreaks like that of East St. Louis . . .

Illinois needs a constabulary. Agitators and men who do not want their power of threatening trouble or creating disturbances to be checked object to the establishment of an efficient force. The *Tribune* believes the public interest should prevail over selfish or prejudiced objections.

But until a constabulary is created, fully empowered to act with vigor and decision, the National Guard should be given the support of appropriate laws.—[Chicago Tribune.

Equal and Exact Justice.

There must be an investigation into the whole affair, and drastic punishment must be meted out to all who are proved guilty of wrongdoing. Only as equal and exact justice is done can anything like social stability be restored. Men of all classes and races must be made to understand that all are alike under the law, that all are alike entitled to its protection. The courts and the police must do their duty without any thought of race distinctions. It is their duty to enforce law on all classes, and to see to it that no class is deprived of equal protection of the law. If they do not do this there is certain to be more trouble, and trouble not limited to East St. Louis.—[Indianapolis News.

Look for the Politician!

Back of the orgy of murder and riot which has disgraced East St. Louis and Illinois, is the great migration of negroes to this section. And back of that is not only the industrial explanation but the argument which self-seeking politicians have furnished to those trying to induce the negroes to come North.

The industrial argument might not be sufficient—particularly in these days when employment is to be had in any part of the country. But when to it is added the appeal to come North, and play a big part in politics—to be coddled by this or that brand of politician or political faction—to get jobs and become tax-eaters just like the white people—what wonder that the simple negroes all ow themselves to be herded into cars and hurried here?—[Chicago Herald.

Race Riots in Illinois.

It was the irony of fate that on the very day when Major Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, was publishing with great satisfaction a list of lynchings in the South, showing a heavy decrease for the six months of the year, there should have broken out a riot in Illinois, where more innocent negroes were killed than in all of the Southern lynchings this year to date.

This riot seems to be the result of an unusual influx of negroes from the South, which upset the normal conditions of labor. Major Moton and others have pointed out that the recent migration of negroes from the South was not alone in behalf of higher wages, but to secure better treatment. Probably in most instances, results have been satisfactory, but the East St. Louis incident shows that a Norhern latitude is not sufficient protection.—[Philadelphia Inquirer.

The East St. Louis Riot.

Nothing more discouraging, disturbing, and depressing has occurred in this country in this generation than the race riot, the killing of negroes, and the burning of their homes in East St. Louis. The ineradicable barbaric instinct of a certain stratum of American society finds easy, congenial, and usually safe expression in mobbing, shooting, and lynching negroes whenever a favorable occasion offers. . . . The records of Tuskegee Institute show that there have been fourteen lynchings of negroes in the first six months of the present year in this country, which is fewer than in previous years, but this East St. Louis riot with its slaughter of negroes will make the year's list of the murder of negroes one of the worst on record. The pendulum has swung back, and the bloodthirsty barbarity and racial hatred manifested in this Northern State makes even the worst record of Georgia seem respectable by comparison.—[Philadelphia Press.

Can America Afford It?

From every corner of the country, from men and women who have been reared in an atmosphere of freedom regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, comes an appeal for such justice at home as we are demanding abroad.

The race war at East St. Louis, with negro men, women, and children murdered because of white men's prejudice, wounds the very soul of a nation which has promised its all in a great war for democracy.

Appeals to Congress, appeals to the President, supplications to the heart of this republic are made in an anguished attempt to rout this nightmare of massacre and to assure to an outraged section of our population the justice which is theirs by constitutional law and the security which is theirs by the law of humanity. . . .

America cannot afford class hatreds and class murders at home while she advertises to a shuddering world the golden dawn of democracy.

Can our Government ignore its responsibility?—[Boston Journal.

Cannot Escape Consequences.

It was a labor disturbance, one reads, due to the large migration of Southern negroes into that part of Illinois during the past year; and then came the use of negroes as strike breakers. Yet why have the negroes been going North in such large numbers? High wages in Northern industries have not been the only stimulus to the exodus. Major Moton, head of the Tuskegee Institute, says in a recent communication: "I gather from reading negro newspapers and from other sources, that in spite of the notable decrease in the number of victims of mob violence for the past six months, the horrors connected with the recent burning at the stake near Memphis has increased among negroes the fear of lynchings and accelerated their migration to the North." It is unpleasant to be reminded of such abysmal deeds of American savagery as the burning alive of human beings at the stake—for they make one shudder for his country—but we cannot escape their consequences, however much we may try to forget them and however persistently and complacently we may look the other way.—[Springfield Republican.

The Negro in America.

Here is a problem that must be dealt with by this country. Probably it will be the next great problem with which we shall have to deal when the war for civilization has been fought and won. When the world has been made safe for democracy, America must be made safe for Americans. Our citizens, without regard to color, must be able to go where they will in search of employment, freely the match which touched off the powder charge.—[Montgomery Advertiser.

The Fight for Bread.

The South has known but one racial clash that in any way approached the severity and extent of the outbreak in East St. Louis Monday afternoon and night, and that was the Atlanta riot several years ago when a large number of negroes were killed and the race was hunted about the streets in much the same way as in East St. Louis, although on entirely different provocation. . . . The negro gets along in the South because instead of being an economic competitor he is an economic necessity, and his race becomes thus an asset instead of a liability to him. In the North he and not in jeopardy of their lives. This can be brought about in one way only the elevation of the entire negro citizenship to a higher economic level, so that the competition of his brain and labor will not threaten to cheapen life and lower wages. Caucasians who have won through their unions and in other ways a comparatively high standard of living are not inclined to stand by the see cheaper labor take their places in the mills and shops. Since the white standard should not, and will not, be lowered the negro standard must be raised. Otherwise the competition of cheap negro labor will arouse racial antagonisms, the bitterest of all in the history of the world. As the negro comes North in increasing numbers, gaining in skill and the consciousness of manhood, he will find for himself his place in the sun. Until he does achieve this, he will find, in the less enlightened sections of the country, that racial prejudice is the ready weapon of the conscienceless agitator.—[Boston Transcript.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE NEGRO

Our Washington correspondent yesterday set forth the bitter disappointment of all colored Americans that President Wilson has never since his first inauguration shown a public sense of their wrongs, or proposed any plan for the remedying of the political and economic injustice done them. Just now they are being drafted to fight for their country and to establish that democracy abroad which is so largely denied them at home, and the universal testimony is that they are waiving exemption more generally than any other class of citizens. At the same time, there have been shocking outbreaks of violence against them, particularly in the North, innocent men, women and children having been done to death, and yet Mr. Wilson is silent. Had they been killed in Mexico he would have demanded reparation from Carranza; should anything similar occur in Belgium we know how he would feel; but because the crimes are committed by Americans no word of denunciation comes to his lips. Moreover, he refuses to publish the private letters he is said to have written in regard to East St. Louis; it is only when white I. W. W.'s are driven out of Arizona that he speaks out against this taking of the law into their own hands by certain citizens.

This flaw in Mr. Wilson's democracy has existed from the beginning. "The New Freedom" contained no word about freeing the economic slaves of the South. He promised faithfully to treat the negroes like other citizens, when he was campaigning for the Presidency, but immediately began to segregate them in the Federal departments when chosen President. They are graciously allowed to serve in the army and navy, but only when segregated, and they are practically denied all participation in their Government. Is it any wonder that, despite their absolute loyalty to everything American, they have slight interest in the war to establish democracy abroad?

One explanation of the President's attitude seems to us to be ignorance of the situation. It is a long time since the President left the South, and so far as we can ascertain he is not aware of the very marked change in public sentiment in regard to this problem which has taken place in certain Southern circles. He has not had time to read the flood of literature from Southern sources warning the South that it must take a different attitude towards its richest asset—its millions of colored laborers. He is presumably not aware of such conferences as that which took place at Blue Ridge, N. C., last week, when fifty educators, clubwomen, ministers, church and social workers, doctors, judges, and State officials, all Southerners, met to urge that democracy be made safe in America. There was not a Northerner present, but it voiced a vigorous feeling of outrage against mob violence in the South, urged the formation of a speakers' bureau on law and order in every Southern State, the placing of race literature in all libraries, the arousing of women's clubs, church organizations, schools and colleges. State teachers' associations, political parties and church [illegible] tions are to be asked to pass resolutions urging obedience to law and condemning the mob. This was patriotic service of the utmost importance to the nation in its hour of stress; but there was no letter from the Southern-born President of the United States to encourage them. He can take no credit to himself for the admirable action of the grand jury in East St. Louis yesterday when it indicted 105 persons for participation in the pogrom, and severely censured the cowardly city officials who, with warning of what was coming, allowed the crimes to take place. Is it any wonder that the *Christian Register* says that the President's silence and delay "will have undoubted influence toward future outbreaks, as vigorous declaration would certainly tend to prevent them"? Or that the Hartford *Courant* believes that every man, particularly a President, who does not take a firm stand against mob violence "contributes to its repetition"?

Even more remarkable is the fact that the President is not aware that among the several causes for the migration of negroes from the South, which is so gravely menacing the agricultural prosperity of that region, is distrust of himself and of his largely Southern Administration. Of this there can be no doubt whatever, and it is not affected by the fact that the worst outbreaks against the negroes have been in the North. Despite them, the negro feels safer here, and the intelligent and thinking ones now leaving the South are largely influenced by the fact that they cannot vote and are taxed without representation. We know of one case of a colored man who has subscribed exactly as much to the Liberty Loan as President Wilson—$10,000—who in his home town paid more taxes than the entire City Council which fixed those taxes. He has just left the South because of his disfranchisement and the injustice to his people on every hand. But he and his kind cannot get a hearing at the White House, and they bear their burdens uncheered by a word from the President who put on paper his solemn promise that if elected he would be President of all Americans. We venture to prophesy that this condition cannot last; that the race crisis in the South will before long compel the Government to take some interest in it, if only for war reasons, and that there must be intelligent study and action unless there is to be a shift of population and an economic upheaval of profound gravity to both North and South—one that will compel even President Wilson to take cognizance of the fact that fairly Prussian barbarities are going on in this country unchecked

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

NEGROES SHOULD RETURN

The recent race riot at East St. Louis has occasioned much discussion, no doubt, throughout this country as to whether the Negroes who fled from the fury of the mob should return to East St. Louis since law and order have been restored.

Of course, there is a division among the Negroes themselves. This calls for careful and logical reasoning on the part of all who are in any way interested. The voluntary acts of those who have left will affect the whole race for generations to come. It will determine whether we, as a race, will voluntarily surrender our rights as American citizens to the cries and whims of the labor unions or any other set of men. Conditions may so develop that any class of citizens may be temporarily driven from their homes, perhaps, by mob violence or other causes, but the **brave** and **true** will return to their homes. If we leave permanently, the mobs will have accomplished their purpose. The employers, the state and city officials have guaranteed protection, and have vowed to make East St. Louis a safe place for all law-abiding people. **The Negroes should return at once.**

THE PRESIDENT AND THE NEGRO

N.Y. Evening Post 8/14/17

Failure to Elicit Public Declaration

PROTESTS MADE WITHOUT EFFECT

Delegations of Negroes Have Called at the White House Since the East St. Louis Tragedy, but None Has Seen Him—Reasons for Especially Desiring a Pronouncement Now.

By DAVID LAWRENCE.

[Special Dispatch to The Evening Post.]

WASHINGTON, August 14.—Delegation after delegation of negroes has come to the White House since the East St. Louis tragedy to interest President Wilson in the issuance of a public declaration which would help make the American democracy safe for the negro. The President has not received any of these delegations. He has made to date no public statement. As a consequence, there is much disappointment among the negroes and their white friends. Their leaders are puzzled. They realize that the President is a busy man, but with the memory of the East St. Louis tragedy still fresh in their minds, though it may have passel from the thoughts of others, they want the White House influence exerted to prevent a recurrence of race riots and disturbances. For, whatever the industrial trouble at root, the negroes become the victims in any clashes that occur of race antagonism, because of the indifference of the authorities to crimes committed under such circumstances.

The negroes asked the President to utter some word to the nation that would remind the people generally of thir obligations to citizens now granted equal rights of protection under the Constitution. Secretary Tumulty told one delegation the question was not being "neglected," and that the President was in consultation with Department of Justice officials about it.

PRESIDENT EXPRESSED SORROW.

This was nearly two weeks ago. The President had written a letter to Senator France, of Maryland, who wanted to have a delegation of negroes from his State see Mr. Wilson. In that letter the President expressed deep sorrow over the horrible features of the East St. Louis tragedy, but the letter was never made public.

Repeated efforts to draw from the White House information of what the President intends to do about protection for the negroes have been met with the statement that Mr. Wilson has the matter under consideration. This, however, has been the assurance for many weeks and the negroes are almost despairing that anything will be done. Some of the President's close friends say, however, that it has been merely his absorption in more urgent questions which has prevented him from making a statement thus far. Others point out that he is at a loss how to tackle the question because of the delicate implications of State rights and the exercise by the States of their police power. Mr. Wilson is represented as not desiring to lecture the State authorities on their duties and obligations with respect to the police power, because of a fear that he would be introducing new elements of controversy at a time when the coöperation of the States with the Federal Government in war policies is more vital than it ever has been.

But to the negroes, the leaders of them, who are omitting no opportunity to press the matter to some conclusion, the feeling is that Mr. Wilson can find a way, if he but desires it. The fact is their faith in the President is well shaken. They exhibit privately his letter to Bishop Walters, protesting friendship for the negro, written during the campaign of 1912, as an example of a promise that Mr. Wilson has never kept. The letter was written at a time when negro support was needed. Curiously enough, nearly four years later, when a negro delegation, headed by a Mr. Trotter, of Boston, came to Washington to protest against segregation in the Government departments, the aforesaid Mr. Trotter made some mention of votes and the 1916 campaign which so angered the President that he abruptly adjourned the meeting. So there isn't much headway to be gained by reminding Mr. Wilson of promises or political pledges. They only irritate him, and that means the failure of the mission, whatever it is.

SPECIAL EFFORT MADE THIS TIME.

The negroes, however, have this time tried to appeal to the President by sending to Washington the best educated and most eloquent among them to plead their cause. Whatever they may have asked for in the past fades into insignificance beside the object of their errand to-day. They do not forgive what they construe to have been deliberate discrimination among members of their race in time of peace, but they are interested now in the dangerous trend of race antagonism since the war broke out. Whether it is due to industrial unrest, whether the exodus from the South to the North could have been averted by an earlier scientific study of the whole problem, and whether means to guard against the riots in industrial centres could have been taken before, are questions of the past which the negro leaders will not soon dismiss, but they are concentrating to-day on the possibilities of the future. Hardly a day passes that the news dispatches do not carry some word about clashes between whites and blacks in some part of the country, and lately the greater number of incident have occurred in the Northern States. This, the negroes believe, is directly attributable to the well-known laxity of public officials, both in the Federal and State Governments, toward the punishment of offenders. Secure in the knowledge that there will be no prosecutions, those who are moved to violence are not restrained by the ordinary fear of retaliatory action by the courts.

A statement from the President, whose words carry so much more weight with the country to-day than in normal times would, in the opinion of the negroes, be a corrective act not merely because it would be read by those who might realize the dangerous consequences of wanton attacks on negroes, but because it would indicate to local authorities that the Federal Government deems it of the utmost importance to protect all classes of American citizens, especially in these days of democratic aspiration. If the President cannot bring about the punishment of those who have committed crimes, he can at least prevent a recurrence thereof by a vehement pronouncement. This is all the negroes ask of him, and they are hopeful that the rumors of an expected statement from the White House are true.

ROOSEVELT ALONE HAS SPOKEN.

To date Colonel Roosevelt alone has spoken out in behalf of the negroes. He even denounced organized labor as responsible for such tragedies as occurred at East St. Louis. The negroes who have been to Washington are not asking Mr. Wilson to go as far as that—to enter into a controversy between capital and labor—for they know this is hardly the time for the President to become involved in such disputes; but they believe they are well within the bounds of propriety and patriotism in asking the citizens of America to submit their disputes to law abiding agencies and not permit their settlement by mob rule where the innocent and the guilty alike are slain in the madness of race bitterness. They point out that when the white men of the I. W. W. were expelled from Arizona, the President spoke out promptly against this lawlessness, but that never since he has been President has he spoken out on behalf of fair play for the negroes who are one-tenth of our citizenship.

In a sense, the President's action or inaction, will be of far-reaching importance. The negroes are loyal to the Government. Their services in agricultural pursuits are becoming increasingly necessary as the draft brings on a shortage of labor. If there is no protection for the negro in the North, those interested in transporting them for work on the farms will find it more difficulty to induce the negroes to leave their homes in the South. War enthusiasm among the negroes may seem to many people as hardly a matter which need cause the President any loss of sleep, but when it is considered that negro newspapers throughout the length and breadth of the country do not fail to inform their readers of the manner in which the Government neglects the negro, an unfriendly, as well as unhealthy sentiment among the negroes can conceivably be produced without particular effort on the part of any individual or organization if it is not already there. The need for loyal coöperation on every side in time of war is too obvious to argue about, and none of the negro leaders usually says anything about it. But investigation of the feeling among the members of the race generally has brought confirmation of the lack of sympathy with the Administration at Washington. Naturally their leaders are anxious for a strong pronouncement from the White House, because it will mean a new era in the treatment of the negro by the Administration which will have its effect in the populous centres where trouble has occurred or may occur in the future.

NEGROES OF U.S. STIRRED BY RIOT

President Is Asked to "Save Illinois From Her Own Barbarians."

ST LOUIS MO REPUBLIC
JULY 4, 1917

Negroes of the nation, represented by the Negro National Educational Society, in session at Kansas City, and the Woodriver Baptist Sunday School, meeting at Jacksonville, Ill., yesterday directed to President Wilson telegrams of protest against the East St. Louis rioting.

Simultaneously negroes of St. Louis took steps to temporarily succor the blacks driven from their homes.

An appeal for immediate congressional action in investigating the riots was contained in a memorial sent yesterday to Representatives Mann and Kitchin at Washington by the Educational body at Kansas City. The appeal follows:

"The inhuman murder of defenseless negroes on the streets of East St. Louis is without a parallel in the criminal history of the world. Peaceful, law-abiding men and women, seeking by daily toil to earn an honest living, were unmercifully butchered, without the slightest provocation, by infuriated mobs, this, too, in the very heart of civilized America. We appeal to the Congress of the United States for an immediate investigation of these crimes and for the future protection of the black race."

THREATEN UPRISING.

The Wood River delegates framed their appeal to Gov. Lowden, asking suppression of the rioting at all cost.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 6

Telegrams to President Wilson, Gov. Lowden and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, were dispatched at Boston last night by officers of three negro associations having headquarters there, appealing to them to use their influence to prevent a recurrence of the race riots in East St. Louis.

The New England League for Afro-American Suffrage asked Gov. Lowden to use his influence "to maintain justice for colored native American citizens." The message said press reports of the riots "indicate, in our judgment, great danger of an uprising of 12,000,000 colored citizens who will not much longer submit to injustice and outrage by white Americans and to indifference of the National Government."

The Boston branch of the National Equal Rights League declared in its telgram to Samuel Gompers that the "bloodiest, most murderous massacre of colored Americans in the country's history at East St. Louis, Ill., was committed by labor unionists" and called on him to declare his position.

The National Colored Liberty Conference addressed its plea to President Wilson, imploring him to use all the powers of his office to bring the guilty parties to justice and prevent a recurrence of the riots and beseeching him to express himself in "no uncertain terms in condemnation."

All the telegrams refer to the effect which such disturbances may have upon the prosecution of the war.

Declaring that "such outrages could not exist in any civilized country without a protest from the ruling power," J. Silas Harris of Kansas City, Mo., president of the Negro Educational Congress, sent a telegram of protest to President Wilson.

Thomas Swann of Chicago, Ill., secretary of the Freedman Foundation, acting for 25 negro organizations, wired a protest to President Wilson, which read:

"American citizens are being murdered in East St. Louis. Anarchy conditions prevail, warranting Federal interference. In the name of humanity save Illinois from her own barbarians."

Harris' telegram declared that a "continuation of such brutalities as are being enacted in East St. Louis will chill the patriotism of every negro in America, which would be most unfortunate in this hour of national peril. Every citizen should be permitted to work where he can be of the greatest benefit to himself and society."

Mass meetings of St. Louis negroes were held yesterday afternoon in the Negro Pythian Hall, 3137 Pine street, and last night in Douglass Hall, and plans were formulated to raise funds for the victims of the mobs.

The afternoon meeting was under the auspices of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The session was under the direction of Charles Pittman, chairman of the Executive Committee.

Five committees were appointed to carry on the relief work for the refugees. The chairmen are: Frank L. Williams, principal of the Sumner High School; David D. Jones, secretary of the negro branch of the Y. M. C. A.; Bismarck Lavine, proprietor of the Columbia Tea and Cofee Company; Rev. William H. Peck, pastor of the St. James A. M. E. Church, and Paul W. Moseley.

At a meeting of the Negro Civic League of Kansas in Kansas City, Kas., last night, a telegram was addressed to Congressmen Mann and Kitchin which contained an appeal similar to that issued by the Negro National Educational Congress to-night, except that, instead of an investigation, it asked that Congress "proceed to check the needless and wanton waste of human life at East St. Louis."

SINISTER PURPOSES

N Y C HERALD

JULY 20, 1917

After reading the story of the attack on the negro settlement of East St. Louis and the wholesale killing of blacks there, one finds difficulty in writing so vehemently in denunciation of the Turks for their massacres of Armenians, or in holding up one's hands in horror at atrocities generally. After all, it doesn't make so much difference what it is all about. Count Reventlow, a distinguished German writer, has made out a most plausible case for the Turk in his dealings with the Armenian, and no doubt a "case" may be found for the yelling mob which swept thru the black settlement of the Illinois town, setting the buildings afire and shooting down the inmates as they fled in terror from the scene.

This is not wholesome Americanism. It is the rankest kind of outlawry, which cannot be justified by the fact that negroes had themselves invited trouble by an attack on the police.

The negroes it appears, had been brot into the community in order to provide workers in various plants devoted to the manufacture of war material and equipment, and which were short handed on account of the scarcity of labor. It does not appear that these blacks displaced white labor, neither does it appear that they disturbed wage scales, for wages are good in any line these days. But it was not long before friction and ill feeling arose, a condition that evidently was fanned and fomented from some quarter, and as a result there have been several serious clashes and concerted attacks by whites on the black settlements.

These outbreaks are particularly serious at this time, and they can serve but one purpose. They interfere with the industrial activity of the nation in time of war, when the country needs every ounce of energy to prosecute the war. Widely separated as these various interruptions to industry appear to be, and due apparently to entirely different causes, it is certainly evident that they serve a single purpose and a common aim. They hinder and impede the business of the country in making ready for war. The East St. Louis massacre of negroes seriously interferes with industries associated with the production of military equipment. The Butte and Arizona strikes shut off enormous supplies of copper. The labor disturbances in northwest lumber camps and other places fomented by the I. W. W. interfere with contracts for the building of America's fleet of wooden ships. There seems to be a common purpose back of much of this trouble.

The situation is sinister and is marked by a remarkable peculiarity. If outside or alien enemy influences are at work they do not necessarily originate the trouble. They simply fan some smoldering local trouble or irritate some local sore. In other words, no matter what the difficulty may be or in what part of the country it may occur, it would seem as if the incident or the controversy were immediately seized on and magnified so as to make the breach wider in order to hamper or interfere with the orderly processes of industry.

RUSS WELCOME HALTED AS ROOSEVELT FLAYS GOMPERS.

Independent 7/18

N. Y. July 17—A sizzling contro- n
versy between Col. Roosevelt a t
Samuel Gompers, president of t
American Federation of Labor, swe
a great meeting in Carnegie Hall la
night far from its stated purpos
which was to welcome and applaud th
members of the Russian war missio
who came to New York in the after-
noon.

The Col. was angered to the point of fury by an assertion by Mr. Gompers that the race riots in East St. Louis were caused by the importation of Southern Negroes to compete with white labor in defiance of warning from labor leaders and the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Roosevelt had spoken before Mr. Gompers, but took the platform again when the federation president finished. Pounding on the desk, striding back and forth, marching over to Mr. Gompers and shaking his fist in his face, he declared that never would he sit silent in the presence of a man who "offered an apoligy for the murder of the helpless." At first the Col. was wildly applauded. Most of the men and women in the crowded hall jumped to their feet and yelled "Good! Good! Good!"

It was the Colonel himself who injected East St. Louis into the proceedings. He prfaced his prepared speach with an amplification of the race riot remarks that he made at Forest Hills Gardens on the Fourth of July. He said that before "we speak of giving justice to others it behooves us to see that justice is done within our own household. He said the brutal murders in the Illinois city had left a stain on the American name. There was no justification for this riot, he said, they were just plain murder.

"I demand," he said, "that the Government representatives put down violence with ruthless firmness, whether it is of white against black or black against white. Berefore we can help others in drawing the beam from their eyes let us draw out the beam that is in our own eyes. The most dagerous form of sentemental debauch is to give expression to good wishes in behalf of virtue somewhere else when you do not dare to enforce decency in your own province.

"So much," chuckled the Colonel, "for this brief eulogy of my fellow citizens."

All this was cheered, every sentence of it.

Gomper's Explanation.

The next speaker was Mr. Gompers.

"I should like to explain about East St. Lous," he said, after praising everything else the Colonel had said. "I wish I had with me a telegram I received tonight from the secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor. It explains the whole situation. Not only labor men, but the Chamber of Commerce warned those who were luring colored men from the South to undermine the workers of East St. Louis. Hundreds of thousands were brought in and there was no place for them to lay their heads. Luring them there was no more than a working of the same brutal, tyrannical forces that existed in old Russia. There is altogether too much injustice prevailing in free America. (Groans and hisses), but there is a larger percentage of freedom and justice than in any other country."

Roosevelt Skins Gompers.

The Mayor stepped forward and was about to introduce Prof. Bakhmetieff when Col. Roosevelt, who had been fidgeting while Mr. Gompers was "explaining" the riots, darted from his chair.

"May I say another word," he said, waving a program in his right hand and obviously boiling with suppressed feeling.

"I am not willing," he went on, biting off each word as if it were a sift nosed bullet, "that a meeting called to commemorate the birth of a democracy in Russia shall even seem to have given any approval or accepted any apology for the brutal infamy imposed on Negroes or colored men."

Most of the audience sprang to its feet, yelling for the Colonel.

Shakes Fist at Gompers.

"Justice," he continued, "is not merely words. It is to be translated into living acts and how can we praise the people of Russia, if we by explanation, silence or evasion apoligize for murdering the helples. (Cheers.) In the past I have listened to the same form of excuse from the Russian autocracy for the pograms inflicted on the Jews. Shall we by silence acquiesce in this amazing apology for the murder of men, women and children in our own country?"

There was noise all over the hall, but it was all in the Colonel's favor. Hitting the speaker's table with his fist after every word, he said:

"I'll do everything for the laboring man except that which is wrong, and that I will not do for any man or cause. I care not a snap of my finger"—here the Colonel walked over to Mr. Gompers and shook his fist within a foot of the Gompers nose—"for a telegram from the head of the strongest labor union in Illinois. This thing took place in a Northern state, where the whites outnumber the Negroes twenty to one, and if in that city white men cannot protect their rights by their votes against an insignificant minority and have to murder women and children, then the state that sent Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency must bow its head in shame."

Col. Roosevelt still stood over Mr. Gompers, pointing his forefinger, then shaking his fist and talking right at the labor president so everybody could hear.

The Colonel was talking all the time, but the only phrase identified at this moment was "the murderers." Leaving Mr. Gompers, who had been clutched by, jumper back to the edge of the stage and shouted above the booing and groaning:

"I will go to any extreme necessary to bring justice to the laboring man to assure him his necessary place and to prevent his exploitation, but when there is murder I'll put it down and I'll never submit to it. We gathered here to greet the men of the new Russia, which has been founded on the principle of justice to all, and on such an evening will I sit motionless while directly or indirectly apology is made for the murder of the helpless."

As for the Colonel, when the spat was ended and he had had his full say, he retired to his chair and beamed with the look of a man who feels that he has beaten his antagonist to a frazzle.—The (N. Y.) Sun.

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

TOLEDO OHIO BLADE
JULY 4, 1917

Crime by Imitation

It remained for a northern state to outdo the south in lynchings. In point of numbers murdered, in sheer brutality and viciousness, the south has no record that will compare with that made at East St. Louis. It is a blot that Illinois can never wipe from its tablets.

Yet if justice were to be done this East St. Louis crime would be placed at the doors of the south. It was in that section that mob law was developed into a code. It was there that men first were permitted to nourish the fiendish idea that lynching was a virtue, that hanging negroes without due process of law argued a superior sense of righteousness. There race hatred and race tyranny were cultivated as a duty in citizenship. Had there been many men of high courage in public office instead of many men of feeble character, lynching would have been crushed at its first appearance. Had the south had any sense of responsibility toward the negro, had it desired to improve him, had it done anything else except to exploit his labor and maintain him in squalor and ignorance, the crimes held to be peculiarly negro crimes would not have occurred, this migration into the north would not have started, lynchings would have been unheard of.

The south can taunt the north for eclipsing it in savagery. It is a shame we feel and suffer. Yet what the north has done has been simply to flatter by imitation. The crime of lynching is still the southerner's crime. He devised it, developed it, gave it pridefully to the country as a sectional product. However hard our sin, there is satisfaction in knowing that we were incapable of creating it.

national wealth society will be beset by racial and industrial warfare, which threatens to destroy not only industry but to disrupt the Union as well.

Congress is the specialist to remedy industrial ills. We must make better use of our congressmen.

E. H. COLLER.

RALEIGH N C OBSERVER
JULY 5, 1917

CLOSING an editorial analysis of the reasons back of the race riots in East St. Louis the New York World, holding that a "come-easy, go-easy" sort of a city government invites outbreaks, has this:

> A city in which it is not customary to enforce the laws is precisely the place where murder, riot, arson and pillage need cause no great surprise.

The trouble in East St. Louis, which it correctly describes as "industrial riots" and not as "race riots" the World holds as being due to the lack of city government, that United States Judge Landis had obtained from its Mayor, Police Commissioners and Chief of Police, by dint of sharp questioning the admission "that it was not customary in East St. Louis to enforce the laws."

No wonder then that there were riots in that great railroad and manufacturing centre, with coal mines near at hand and a large foreign population, that riots broke out against Negroes whose first advent was as strike breakers. The populace had contempt for law. It jeered at it, made a mock of it. And the city reaped the whirlwind from the sowing of the wind by its free and easy municipal government.

And so in any city there is trouble in a more or less degree when there is a free and easy government. If the screws of the law had been put on blind tigers years ago we would not have seen twenty of our citizens haled into the Federal Court. If the law had put on the lid we would not have read of the red light women taking pot shots at this man and that. The blind, the weak minded, the apologist for deplorable conditions, would have us believe that Raleigh is a peaceful, quiet, law abiding city, even though it is found necessary to have the Federal Court with special grand juries come in and regulate our affairs.

It is time to stop such nonsense, and we have faith that with the new order of affairs in Raleigh there is going to be a stop put to it. If there is not, then we are to reap the whirlwind in some form or other. Licensing for lawlessness is the result of non-enforcement of laws. Let us have law enforcement in Raleigh.

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 9, 1917

REDEEMING EAST ST. LOUIS.

By the action of the Chamber of Commerce the police force of East St. Louis is to be doubled. This is much to be desired, but more important than an increase in numbers is a change in spirit. Perhaps that will come with a new chief, and perhaps not. The political conditions which have made for inefficiency and tolerance of vice and law breaking, and wh paralyzed the arm of the police on the night o the riot, have long existed. They can not easily be changed. They never will be changed unless the people are determined it shall be done. If there had been a police force having the right spirit from top to bottom, the riot would have been suppressed before it attained the horrible proportions it reached.

The rioters seemed to be confident the police would not interfere with them. Upon what previous sizing up of the sentiment of the police this confidence was based is not yet known. Perhaps something will be revealed at the inquest which will be enlightening. It may have been just the natural conclusion, that a city government which had stood for law violation, the continuance of immoral conditions and the general political spoils system through several administrations would not show much sudden energy in upholding the law.

The Chamber of Commerce of East St. Louis is to be congratulated that it has taken a firm stand in the matter, that it seeks to make the police force effective and reliable and that it is organizing a body of armed citizen volunteers to aid in the preservation of order and the protection of life and property against mob violence. That is what was to be expected of the character of men who compose it. The next thing for them to do is, when time comes to elect another set of city officials, to abandon party lines and nominate and elect men of the right caliber on an independent ticket. Knock out the spoils politics.

A LESSON FROM EAST ST. LOUIS

When Negroes live in any considerable number in any community and become an object of political favors and manipulation, the basis for an outbreak like that of East St. Louis is laid. Make no doubt about that.

In other places than East St. Louis this condition exists in a more or less malevolent form—in other places not so far from our own doorsteps that we can afford to ignore this truth. In East St. Louis many Negroes of the lower order were the tools of the local politicians. Their law-breaking had been condoned. Insolence and even violence had gone unrebuked and this could have no other outcome than a revolt of the whites. Race feeling is nothing to be tampered with. It was inflamed in this case. Economic rivalry was probably another factor. But we shall make a grave mistake if we do not face the fact of political corruption as an element of danger there and elsewhere. The bosses of East St. Louis are not the only ones unscrupulous enough to play this game. Decent whites and decent Negroes should unite to disappoint their devices wherever they appear.

LABOR RIVALRY BEHIND TROUBLE LEADING TO RIOT

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
JULY 3, 1917

Council of Defense Had Given Warning of Grave Peril.

Rioting in East St. Louis emphasizes the report of the state council of defense, which on Saturday concluded a survey of the conditions which led to the riots of May 28. Migration of vast numbers of southern Negroes to the north is blamed in the report, and it was the influx of Negroes into East St. Louis that first caused murmurings on the part of working people.

The report of the investigating committee of the council of defense was made by John H. Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor; John H. Harrison of Danville, and Dr. Frank Billings.

"The influx of Negroes seemed to be due entirely, in the committee's opinion, to advertising in the southern newspapers and to the activities of labor agents holding out alluring inducements for Negroes to come to East St. Louis."

Urge Close Co-operation.

The committee concluded that "capital and labor must pull together during the war," and that "migration of any class from one part of the country to another should be allowed to follow the flow along natural lines."

"Condemnation should be passed on all who undertake to promote conditions," the report proceeds. "The problem of shifting labor where labor is needed during the war should be handled by the various state councils of defense, acting with the responsible officers of the labor movement, who daily are showing their patriotism in endeavoring to avoid industrial strife."

Grumbling Not Stilled.

Previous to the publication of this report, however, there were grumblings of discontent among the workers of East St. Louis. The riots of May 28 were not forgotten. Previous to those riots, in which nearly fifty Negroes and a dozen white men were injured in four days' rioting, there was an indignation meeting of several thousand persons. At that time the saloons were ordered closed and the police ordered to keep the crowds off the streets.

Labor leaders living in East St. Louis remonstrated against the constant importation of Negroes, but their protests

Big Herald Family

JULY 11, 1917

Wrong Economic Conditions.

Battle Creek, Mich., July 7.—To the Editor: The suggestion by V. S. Bushey, as a remedy for race riot, that "Capital be withdrawn from industries of all kinds in East St. Louis and wipe it off the map commercially," evidences a snap judgment and ignorance of the economics in the industrial situation. The following of such or any similar suggestion would have wiped the commerce and industry of the South off the map years ago.

The great evil in the nation today is the uneven economic relationship of its people. Three-fourths of the families have incomes of from less than $1.11 to less than $3.33 per day. They have gone the limit in making healthful industrial and economic conditions, and as a result three-fourths of our manufacturing and mercantile corporations are not getting ahead.

Justice cannot obtain to the negro so long as white citizens are either groveling or fawning serfs to a legalized system of monopoly. Both the "Tit" and the "Tip" systems should be wiped off the social and industrial map.

Until justice prevails in the distribution of

have been met with statements from employers saying that they have not encouraged emigration of Negroes.

On Saturday Mayor Mollman of East St. Louis met some of those protesting and promised to take action to relieve the situation. On Saturday night there were several clashes between whites and blacks. The trouble slumbered over Sunday and began anew when the Negro mob formed after midnight Sunday.

RICHMOND VA LEADER
JUL 6, 1917

MARK THE DIFFERENCE, AND MARK IT WELL.

We did not discuss the hideous East St. Louis (Illinois) race riot for the reason, among others, that it was doing so would have simply repeated views we had expressed in commenting on similar Northern demonstrations against the negro. The affair merely accentuated the correctness of those views; and now, as things have turned out, Northern papers have done the accentuating. In their discussion and explanation and reprobation of the occurrence they have taken out of our mouth the words that would have been in it had we not restrained a natural impulse to speak, because we regarded it as unnecessary to do so.

A notable example in point is the New York *Evening Post*. "This affair," says the *Post*, "would be enough to put an end to any 'holier-than-thou' attitude on the part of the North towards the South, if there had not been so many manifestations before it to prove that the mob spirit is not confined to any one section of the country." In order to impress the significance of this admission, it should be only necessary to state that no paper in the United States has heretofore been more persistent, insistent and unreasoning than the *Post* in assuming the "holier-than-thou" attitude to which it refers. Continuing, the *Post* explains that "this latest exhibition was due to economic rather than to racial jealousy." "The negroes," it adds, "must not take away the white men's jobs, if they had to be killed to make them understand." Even so; but for all that, the *Post* is forced to the further confession that the trouble "speedily became racial, when the mob attacked negroes indiscriminately, especially negro women, without knowing whether they were recent arrivals or residents of the city." Even so again. And as a matter of fact and underlying it all, the trouble was especially racial from the beginning.

Proof of that lies in the record that in all the rioting in this country growing out of what the *Post* terms "economic jealousy," there has never been any such unbridled and brutal demonstration of whites against blacks. Nor, turning to the South, has there ever been in this section what could be classed a race riot due to "economic jealousy." Certainly, so far as we can recall, there has never been one that approximated in the slightest the East St. Louis outbreak of savagery, passion and race prejudice.

It is not denied that from time to time the negroes at the South have been the victims of white mobs, but the causes have generally been political, as during the struggle for white supremacy, or as related to one particular crime. And in the latter case only the individual criminals have suffered. Other than this the race for the most part has not only been permitted, but encouraged to work out its own economic salvation. When the lure of higher wages, more comfortable living and social equality in the North is dangled before their eyes to induce them to migrate to that section, our colored friends and their leaders would do well to mark the difference, and mark it well.

IS ROOSEVELT COMING BACK?

The Planet
7/21/17

We have noted with interest the attitude of Col. Theodore Roosevelt recently with reference to the astounding massacre at East St. Louis, Illinois. What does it all mean? What does this truly remarkable statesman intend to do in the future? Is it possible that the great influence possessed by him is to be thrown into the balances in support of one of the humblest races of people on the face of the globe and that the time is approaching when the prayers of the colored folks sent up to "Daniel's God" for aid, succor and comfort are about to be answered?

We were stirred by these emotions when we noted that at Carnegie Hall, New York Friday, July 6, 1917, in the presence of the Russian War Mission, he administered a rebuke to Mr. Samuel Gompers, which is reverberating around the world. Organized labor in the vicinity of East St. Louis has taken a stand antagonistic to the colored people who migrated there and the distinguished labor l ader has assumed an apologetic attitude towards the affair. Mr., Gompers is quoted as saying:

"I should like to explain about East St. Louis," he said, after praising everything else the Colonel had said. "I wish I had with me a telegram I received tonight from the secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor. It explains the whole situation. Not only labor men, but the over to Mr. Gompers and shook his fist within a foot of the Gompers nose—"for a telegram from the head of the strongest labor union in Illinois. This thing took place in a Northern State, where the whites outnumber the Negroes twenty to one, and if in that city white men cannot protect their rights by their votes against an insignificant minority and have to murder women and children, then the State that sent Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency must bow its head in shame."

Is it possible that the great Roosevelt is returning to his "first love"? Is he again standing upon the broad platform of a beneficent humanity, without regard to race, color or previous condition of servitude? Let us hope so. This truly remarkable statesman has been thought to be many-sided He is a man of many moods, but no act of his and no declarations that he may have made during the last decade will enshrine his name in the hearts of the justice loving people of this country, irrespective of color more firmly than those vehemently uttered from the platform of Carnegie Hall in New York, July 6, 1917. Some way and somehow, the good God is raising up new friends in quarters from which they are least expected. All we want is for statesmen to advocate the right principles and enunciate fundamental truths. We do not need any special support as a race. We wish a fair deal and no favors.

Chief SAMUEL GOMPERS leaned too far backward in his support of organized labor. He fell out of the arena of fair play to the adamant floor of eternal justice below and the pains he is now experiencing may ation sometime and somewhere cause him to reverse himself before he is called to go and take his place in the "silent halls of death." May God help Theodore Roosevelt and may God confound SAMUEL GOMPERS.

But Truth will conquer at the last
And round and round we run
And ever the Right comes uppermost
And ever is Justice done.

Roosevelt Praised From Pulpit for Defence of Negro

N Y C TRIBUNE
JULY 9, 1917

Attack on Gompers's Explanation of East St. Louis Riots Lauded

Blacks to Fight Back

Herbert Harrison Says Migration North Cannot Be Stopped

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt has been the recipient of many letters and telegrams praising his stand at the Carnegie Hall meeeting Friday night, when he stirred the audience assembled to greet the Russian Mission with his spirited rejoinder to Samuel Gompers's attempt to explain the race riots of East St. Louis.

"Unless the national Administration at Washington," the Rev. A. Clayton Powell, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, telegraphed the Colonel, "brings these murderers to justice, your noble stand will make our government, in preaching world democracy, a laughing stock in the eyes of Germany and Turkey. We are among the millions who are earnestly praying that a man like yourself may again occupy the White House."

Congregation Expresses Thanks

The Rev. Mr. Powell said the 3,200 members of his congregation, by a unanimous vote, expressed to Colonel Roosevelt "their sincere and heartfelt gratitude" for his reply to the "false, cowardly and un-American" utterances of Gompers. The telegram continues:

"Your timely and courageous words in defence of the murdered and maimed men, women and children who were in East St. Louis in pursuit of an honest living are an added proof that you are the biggest and most fairminded man in the world. You have revived a living hope in the breasts of twelve million industrious, loyal, peaceable, yet greatly distressed citizens, and aroused, we trust, a vigorous sentiment in the heart of all genuine Americans for a square deal."

"Murders To Be Avenged"

Joseph C. Manning, a former Representative from Alabama, spoke of the East St. Louis outrage in an address at the Salem Methodist Church last night.

"When a torpedo fired from a submarine of the autocratic government of Germany," said he, "sent the Lusitania to the depth of the sea, sending with it not only men, but helpless women and children to a watery grave, the American people were so moved that the masses of them then turned their thoughts and expression of their thoughts toward the inevitable assertion of this nation's power for the preservation of American life and the rights of Americans. The administration of our government might have been slow to act, but the aroused conscience of the American people intended that, sooner or later, our nation would act. In this hour of national crisis, in this hour of rights of humanity, every loyal American must stand by and with his country.

"Forget not, oppressed at home, that the voice that is avenging the brutal murder of the men, women and children of the Lusitania will not turn a silent ear to that horrible savagery of East St. Louis; where, worse than a watery grave, defenceless men, helpless women and innocent children suffered the torture of having their bodies cremated within the bonfire of their own houses, from which they were too terrified to flee, as the mob applied the torch to start the flames which wrought such cruel death to the helpless and such unspeakable shame to all the American people.

"I know of no other horror, at any time, in any place, in any country, anywhere, that compares with this in man's inhumanity to man. It has been left to the American people, to America, to put on exhibition the savagery of all savagery of civilized mankind. I know that the colored race is now put to the supreme test. You will meet this ordeal, for I know you believe in God and the power of eternal truth."

Negro leaders throughout the city expressed their gratitude for Colonel Roosevelt's stand.

"I do not think this pogrom in East St. Louis will keep negroes South," said Herbert Harrison, president of the Liberty League for Negro Americans and editor of "The Voice."

"At the worst, it will serve to make negroes desperate. Indications already appear that they are organizing to fight back. If this spirit spreads the white people of the South may as well fear general alarm. It is not a question of opposing the militia, but of barn burning, cattle hocking and poisoning of wells.

Says Migration Cannot Be Stopped

"The spirit that is being manifested by negroes North and South indicates that a radical change of programme by the Administration can prevent a racial catastrophe the like of which has never been seen in this democracy. I do not think that the migration of negroes can be stopped."

The Rev. George Sims, pastor of the Union Baptist Church, said:

"It is a pity that all this trouble between the negroes and the whites has been permitted to occur, when one word from President Wilson would eliminate it. I still have hopes that the President, who is himself a Southerner, will see fit to make a plea for justice to the negro."

MORE VICTIMS DIE

N Y C AVE SUN
JULY 18, 1917

East St. Louis Riots Lost Nine White Men Lives.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 18.—The death of two more white men from wounds received in the riots of July , brings the total of known whites killed to nine; Robert F. Murray, 26, locomotive fireman of Lincoln City, Ind., and Steven Hoskins, 18 of East St. Louis are the latest victims.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

NEGRO, NORTH AND SOUTH

SPARTANBURG S C JOURNAL
AUGUST 2, 1917

If all the hypocritical tears the northern section of our glorious union has shed over the negro were gathered into one vast reservoir it would float Nelson's victorious Trafalgar fleets, and yet in this year of grace 1917 the negro at the north is not allowed to obey the Scriptural injunction, Genesis iii., 19: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

It is different at the more civilized and humane south. There a negroes sometimes lynched. That is toll. True, at the south the vicious negrois sometimes lynched. That is not to be excused by any decent man and if there was adequate police protection at the south, such protection as the police give at the north lynchings at the south would be exceedingly rare. The mob spirit is as rife at the north as it can possibly be at the south. Almost daily you read in the papers of criminals rescued from mobs by the police at the north.

The "removal" of those negroes lynched at the south, however, deplorable the means employed, is a positive advance to society. But the wholesale slaughter of negroes at the north for no offense other than attempts to exercise the right to work grievously injures society. The north seems to think that it is glorious for the negro to be a politician, but that it is infamous for him to be a laborer. At the north it is held that the right of a negro to vote in South Carolina or Mississippi is a most valuable privilege, and more sacred than the right of a negro to life in the State of Abraham Lincoln or the State of Thaddeus Stevens.

Chester! Chester! Isn't that a Quaker community?

The wise and prudent negro will leave the north, where he has no friends, and scamper back south, where he has few enemies. Every decent negro at the south is as safe in his life, his liberty and his property as the decent white man. It is only the vicious negro who is unsafe in the south.

Washington. July 29. Savonarola.

NEGROES SEEK FEDERAL HELP.

Protest Against Lynchings in East St. Louis.

Wire President Asking a Law to Safeguard Them

And Remove All Navy, Army "Discrimination."

LOS ANGELES, CAL. TIMES
JULY 10, 1917

The Forum of Los Angeles, organization composed of the leading colored citizens of this city, met last Sunday at the Tabernacle Baptist Church, No. 941 Austin street, and adopted resolutions on the recent race rioting in East St. Louis. These were telegraphed in full to President Wilson at a cost of $18.70. About 300 members of the organization were present and the resolutions were indorsed by a unanimous vote.

The document protests against the killing of negroes at East St. Louis last week, and in part follows:

"In view of the East St. Louis outbreak, the ruthless slaughtering of unoffending and defenseless negroes; in view of the numberless wrongs perpetrated upon the negroes of this country from Washington to California; we, the loyal negroes, subjects of this Union, believing in the deep, abiding sense of fair play of the great American people, have assembled for the purpose of advising among ourselves, what is the best course to be pursued to preserve our own loyalty and to secure for our race protection in the future.

"We ask that every form of discrimination in army and navy be removed by law and regulation, whether in private or official ranks, and that all barriers to negro promotion be taken away. We also ask that Jim-Crowing be made, from this time on, a crime against the nation, whether on railroads, in cafes or hotels.

"We ask further that legislation be enacted placing responsibility for lynching on State, county, town and precinct where lunchings occur, and that $25,000 be paid to the family of the one lynched, collected by the general government from the State, county, town and precinct.

"In view of the fact that our country is asking of us to give up our very lives for civilization against barbarism and to establish world democracy, also to save Europe and this country from German militarism, we feel that the country must protect us in the time of need.

"In this message, we are seeking the only way we know, to perpetuate in us that form of loyalty exhibited by negroes from the fall of Crispus Attucks on the Common of Boston to the heroes of Carrizal in Mexico."

The message was signed by Julius Stephens, president, and J. L. Jarrett, secretary, and was presented by Rev. J. D. Gordon, pastor of the Tabernacle Baptist Church.

N Y C SUN
JULY 21, 1917

Theodore Roosevelt's Appeal to Law and Order.

"The people can get justice peaceably if they really desire it."

"Lawless violence inevitably breeds lawless violence in return."

"I refuse to treat any industrial conditions as warranting riot and murder, and I condemn all persons who attempt to palliate or excuse such crimes, or who fail to condemn them in clear cut and unequivocal fashion."

These are the latest public utterances of Colonel THEODORE ROOSEVELT, and he never spoke more wisely or seasonably.

To most of us it would seem to be an axiomatic truth that no reform, whether it be political, social or industrial, can be brought about in a free country by criminal violations of the law. The lesson, however, needs to be taught over and over again. There are scores and hundreds of people in every community who talk as though they thought otherwise. They are to be found in the city club and the country store, and at all summer and winter resorts where men and women congregate. If anything is wrong, do something violent to right it. Such is apparently the serious thought of persons who ought to know better. Enthusiastic reformers, angered by what they believe to be public wrongs and desirous of an immediate remedy, are intolerant of the slow methods of relief available under the law and they resort to criminal methods to accomplish their ends. Leaders of organized labor forget that all the grievances of those whom they assume to represent are curable at the ballot box and invoke unlawful agencies which only harm their followers in the end.

Reform ceases to be reform when it resorts to crime; but the people to whom we refer persistently refuse to acknowledge this truth and are thus constantly making trouble for the commonwealth.

No man can appeal to a larger audience than THEODORE ROOSEVELT, and this bold declaration of his in behalf of law and order will do a world of good throughout the length and breadth of the land.

"I hold with the utmost intensity of conviction," he says, "that it is utterly impossible for us to succeed along the lines of an orderly democracy, a democracy which shall be industrial as well as political, unless we treat the repression of crime, including crimes of violence, and the insistence on justice obtained through the enforcement of law as prime necessities." The end does not justify the means if the means are methods of criminal violence. If the American people neglect to recognize this truth we shall not long have a country worth living in.

NEGROES ARE RETURNING
YAZOO CITY MISS NEWS
JULY 9, 1917

Plantation workers Who Were in East St. Louis Wire for Tickets.

Plantation negroes of Tennessee, Mississippi and a few from Arkansas, who were drawn to East St. Louis by the high prices paid for labor, are returning to their old jobs, according to railroad men.

These negoes evidently did not like the treatment accorded them, and after the rioting of the last few days plantation managers have received telegrams asking for care fare, and the information is the negroes will return to their old jobs. In the majority of cases the negroes have been sent tickets and they are returning satisfied that the treatment given them in the south is much better than that in the northern cities, and especially in East St. Louis.

But few of the negroes are coming to Memphis, for it is the country negro, not the city negro, who is returning south. The city negroes, it is said, have gone over to St. Louis and are given jobs. It is the country negro that does not care for the city life, such as they learned of in East St. Louis.

Ticket agents in the tri-state say they have wired many tickets to the negroes in the last few days and that many have come without tickets being wired them. They say there has not been any carload shipments of the blacks, but just regular travel. Covington and Dyersburg are said to have had many negroes return in the last few days and expect more in a short time.

The river men have not noticed any influx of the negroes, but say in the last few days at St. Louis there has been no trouble in getting labor, while formerly many of the negroes would work as far as St. Louis, then quit and take a job paying more money.—Commercial Appeal.

CHICAGO ILL HERALD
JULY 4, 1917

CHICAGO NEGROES MEET.

Resolutions placing the blame for the East St. Louis riots on Illinois public officials, protesting against acts of the state defense council and calling for a conference of whites and blacks to find a remedy for the "wrongs of the black race" were adopted last night at a meeting of negroes at 3005 South State street, in the rooms of the Negro Fellowship League.

The adoption of the resolutions was preceded by fiery speeches by several colored orators. Members of the Illinois National Guard, state officials and Chicago newspapers were as freely condemned as the negroes were held up as examples of abused innocence. The East St. Louis riots were termed the "calamity of the century."

WOULD SEND EIGHTH.

"I have heard" said F. L. Barnett, a negro lawyer, "that the national guardsmen were told not to fire on the white mob. If this is so, every one who had anything to do with the giving of that order should be court-martialed. If the white guard couldn't quell the riot the men of the Eighth Illinois Infantry, the colored regiment, should have been sent to handle the situation.

"Arms have been taken away from the negroes in East St. Louis. I don't believe there's a man in Chicago who would let a white policeman come into his house and take his gun away from him. I don't advocate that negroes should have an arsenal in their homes, but one or two guns would not be too much. What happened in East St. Louis might easily happen here."

A. H. Roberts, a colored deputy clerk of the Circuit Court, was bitter against Chicago newspapers.

PUT BLAME ON OFFICIALS.

The resolutions adopted at the meeting follow:

Resolved, That the colored citizens of Chicago, in the shadow of the awful calamity at East St. Louis, hereby express our solemn conviction that the wholesale slaughter of colored men, women and children was the result of the reckless indifference of public officials, who, with the power of the police, sheriff and governor, could have prevented this massacre if they had discharged the duty which the law imposed upon them, and we call upon the press, pulpit and moral forces to demand the punishment of the officials who have failed to do their duty.

Resolved, That we insist upon the right of every American citizen to work in every field of honest labor, demanding the fullest protection of the law. We protest against the published recommendations of the state defense council as the peaceful expressions of the same vindictive spirit which was expressed by the bloodthirsty riot at East St. Louis.

Resolved, That the situation which has just written the darkest pages in the annals of Illinois calls for the most intelligent, courageous and conservative co-operation of all citizens, white or black, and we recommend a conference of white and colored citizens which should consider every phase of our present wrongs and strive to find a remedy.

It was suggested that a committee be sent to East St. Louis to make investigation of the trouble, but the idea did not seem to arouse a great deal of enthusiasm.

WASHINGTON D C STAR
OCTOBER 27, 1917

Congress and the Mob.

The investigation of the East St. Louis riots, ordered by the House, is in progress there, but the town is not interested. The committee is sitting in a hall large enough for a gathering of three hundred persons, but the average attendance of spectators at the meetings is not above a dozen. Maybe the town

is tired of the subject, and is trying to forget it.

The testimony being taken bears out the full horror of the tragedy as described when it was fresh. Town authorities off guard, and inefficient when aroused. Human beings hunted on the streets and elsewhere for murder purposes. The militia when on the scene no help. An orgy of bloodletting, which took its own time, and made a record of the kind. Representative Cooper of Wisconsin, a member of the committee, remarked after listening to one particularly grisly story, "Indians could do no worse."

One of the witnesses, a local manufacturer, told this:

"A group of negroes was standing by quite peaceable, when a soldier, in uniform, came out a nearby door. The crowd was all around. Some called out taunting him, 'You can't shoot!' 'Oh can't I?' replied the soldier, only in stronger language. With that he raised his rifle to his shoulder and shot into the crowd of negroes. One of them fell I did not know if he was dead."

Since the tragedy the town has sobered up, in more than one sense. A population of seventy-five thousand had been supporting three hundred and seventy-six saloons. Thirty of the places have now gone out of business, to the advantage of the community. Order is better, and the general tone of the town improved.

The report of this committee will receive attention, even at a time when the House will have a crowded calendar. It will show phases of labor clashes and race clashes, with gutter politics and the drink traffic adding to the turmoil and misery. For that reason it will contain something of interest for all who are moving for betterments, social, commercial and political; and there are many who today are so employed.

If Congress can do anything to prevent, or even discourage, the indulgence of the mob spirit—which is confined to no section, and has been finding toleration in all sections—it should act. The need of action, national and local, is greater now than before war was declared. Excitement is easily aroused. A crowd gathers rapidly. A passionate word spoken by a man of leaderlike voice and mien is often sufficient in a carelessly governed community to put all law and order underfoot, and cause the loss of both life and property on a large scale.

CHICAGO [illegible] TRIBUNE
JULY 8 1917

This department appears daily on the

PROTECTION FOR NEGROES IN NORTH.

Chicago, July 5.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—Will the north ever do anything to protect the Negroes who live here? Will the men of family, position, and influence remain idle while insensate mobs, with vengefulness built upon ignorance and prejudice, take the lives of such poor creatures—country darkies for the most part, who are lured to the north on promise of good pay and humane treatment?

Born and raised in the south, I have been dumfounded, since living in the north, to find a strong prejudice here against the Negro as an individual. There is much word kindness for the Negro as a race, but I have found the Negro singularly lacking in personal friendship among the people of the north. Is that a general truth? Is my observation correct? There are new race troubles in East St. Louis.

Are there no men there of intelligence and well born enough to see that it is their duty to protect the more unfortunate and ignorant race? During the "Charles riots" in New Orleans some years ago, who was it armed themselves and individually and by companies and battalions defended the innocent Negroes of that city against mob violence? The very flower of New Orleans—the men of wealth, position, social standing, and public influence. They were hooted at and cursed by the mob rabble; they were stoned and vilified by women and men of the class with whom the Negro comes into competition as an industrial factor. Yet these men held back the mobs, dominated them, and protected the innocent and terrorized Negroes from their would be persecutors. Do you think I would have let any one harm a hair of the head of my good old family servant—fat, good tempered, and imperious old Aunt Mary? Not by a damned sight. And every man of respectability felt as I did and acted as I did. For the few criminal Negroes who commit the unnamable crime there is but one ending. But the vast majority of respectable, law abiding, and industrious Negroes of the south are as sure of protection from mob violence as they appear not to be in East St. Louis.

If the north must take Negroes from the South, if the north must offer them better wages, then the north must give them better social protection and see to it that the reputation for race prejudice is not picked up bodily and transferred across Mason and Dixon's line.

M. B. TREZEVANT,
1606, 10 South La Salle street.

APPEALS TO PRESIDENT.

The following message asking President Wilson for federal intervention to prevent further outbreaks in East St. Louis was wired to Washington yesterday by Thomas Swann, secretary of the Freedmans Foundation, acting for twenty-five colored organizations in Chicago:

"American citizens are being murdered in East St. Louis. Anarchy conditions prevail, warranting federal interference. The Chicago Tribune prints a statement that Governor Lowden cannot be found. In the name of humanity save Illinois from her own barbarians."

[illegible]
JULY 5, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS' FRIGHTFULNESS.

East St. Louis, which is in Illinois territory and under the civil and military jurisdiction of that State, has gained an unenviable reputation in the last few months which will take it a long time to live down. The race riots that have occurred could never have taken place in a well-governed and self-respecting community. If the earlier outbreaks had been more promptly and firmly repressed the recent ferocious exhibition of mob brutality would never have developed. When human passions burst loose from all restraints and are suffered to proceed unchecked just the sort of fiendishness comes to the front that has been on view in East St. Louis. For the horrible scenes occurring there during the last few days the white race must be held mainly responsible. It is the superior race intellectually, morally and numerically, and it is the governing race. For the negro some allowance is to be made by reason of his very inferiority in these particulars. The dominant race owed it to themselves and to their own position to exhibit an example of self-restraint and of orderly government. The local police and the State authorities are partly to blame for this lapse into barbarism. But primarily the cause is to be traced to a public sentiment which was ready to justify savagery.

In saying this we do not overlook the fact that social and industrial conditions of a very serious, irritative and dangerous character have been produced in many sections, East as well as West, by the large negro influx from the South in the course of the last year; nor do we forget that the attitude of the newcomers in many cases has been defiant and has tended to inflame the white people against them; nor do we ignore the fact that the recent riots in East St. Louis were provoked by a murderous attack of the blacks themselves on the police. The negroes can never afford to defy white sentiment or to stir up race trouble, because in the end they are bound to get the worst of it physically, financially, industrially and every other way. And they are not their true friends who caused them to challenge the stronger element. But their folly and their crimes do not excuse white communities for lowering themselves to a savage level. Such race and labor problems as black immigration is creating must be dealt with in a different way. East St. Louis has not solved even a part of the problem; it has simply advertised its own lack of intelligence and strength and written itself down as a centre of frightfulness.

TROOPS HELD TO BLAME IN RACE RIOTS

Militia at East St. Louis Accused of Cowardice—Soldiers Disarmed by the Mob, Is Charge

Death List Is Now 28—Many Negroes Leave City—Thirteen Companies of Guards on Duty

[illegible]
JULY 4, 1917

East St. Louis, Ill., July 3.—Thirteen companies of National Guardsmen to-night patrolled the streets of East St. Louis in an effort to prevent a recurrence of the race riots. These have resulted since yesterday morning in a death list of 28, the injury of 75 or more, and the destruction by fire of 310 negro homes covering 16½ acres of ground.

The entire community of 80,000 is terrorized by the events of the last two days. That they fear the inability of the guardsmen to cope with the situation was intimated to-day, when the Chamber of Commerce demanded to know from Adjutant-General Dickson why the troopers had not displayed more activity last night.

SOLDIERS DISARMED.

The police force, which numbers sixty, also was charged with negligence. **Of all the incidents of the riot related to-day, not one told of a single act of bravery on the part of the police or guardsmen.** Anxious citizens who inquired of individual militiamen why they did not stop the looting and murder, in many instances under their very eyes, received grins in reply. Some of the soldiers were disarmed by the rioters.

To-day, some of the negroes walked out of town on the railroad tracks. More crossed to the Missouri side of the river, and still others, expecting protection by the augmented force of soldiers, returned to their homes. Some, whose homes were burned, were cared for in a camp established by the Chamber of Commerce.

A newspaper reporter, who was in the thick of the trouble last night, said a white man, observing a cowering negro, approached and said:

"Come with me into this alley; you'll be safe there. There's a soldier there."

The negro followed. In the alley the white man shot his victim through the head and sauntered back into the street.

GIVES CAUSES OF TROUBLE.

Michael Whalen, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council here, and also city clerk, gave one explanation of conditions which he thought led to the rioting. He said:

"Last Summer some 4,500 white men went on strike in the packing plants of Armour & Company, Morris & Company, and Swift & Company. Eight hundred negroes from the South came into the plants as strike breakers. When the strike ended, the negroes remained at work and an equal number of white men failed to get their jobs back.

"Since then there has been a stream of negroes arriving.

Whalen said the chief objection to the negroes was that they would not unionize and would not strike. Managers of plants mentioned by Whalen asserted that not a white man had been deprived of work because of the negroes. Even with the negroes it was difficult to get enough labor, they said.

An appeal for immediate Congressional investigation of race riots in East St. Louis was contained in a memorial sent to Representatives James R. Mann and Claude Kitchin at Washington by an emergency meeting of the Negro National Educational Congress held at Kansas City to-night.

[illegible] TIMES DISPATCH
JULY 4, 1917

The Negro in the North

THERE will be no satisfaction in the South that again it may point an accusing finger at its revilers and traducers. The bloody tragedy of East St. Louis will bring nothing but shame and grievous anger to this part of the country. That negroes have been treated with more intolerance, more injustice and more cruelty in this Illinois community than they would have been in any Southern State the country knows.

Their crime, be it remembered, was not that crime of crimes which stirs the Mississippi or Georgia mob to frenzy, but, originally at any rate, mere economic competition. These East St. Louis negroes had been carried there to work in war industries and had displaced white labor. The result was inevitable. In whatever community, unaccustomed to his presence in considerable numbers, the negro becomes a contestant for the white man's job, trouble is bound to occur.

The negro should be protected in his industrial rights in Illinois as he is in Virginia. When he has been—when the shame of Illinois has been blotted out—it will be time enough for the North to resume its discussion of politics.

CINCINNATI O POST
JULY 9, 1917

RACE RIOTS CONDEMNED

Alleged cowardice of public officials in the race riots at East St. Louis and brutality toward negroes were condemned in a resolution passed by negroes at Allen Temple Sunday.